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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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LETTERS should be addressed to OLIVER JOHNSON, *Editor of The Anti-Slavery Standard*, 48 Beekman-st., New York.
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Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

THE LAST RESORT OF THE REBELS.

From The London Index (Anglo-Rebel organ), Sept. 9.

WITHOUT placing absolute credence in the *startling intelligence* brought by the Hibernian, it is safe to speculate upon it, if not as an actual fact at least as an event which has recently entered into the range of immediate probabilities. We have, in the various rumors that preceded this last direct announcement, so many indications that the question of arming the slave population has been under careful and serious consideration in the Confederate counsels. It is also certain that the same subject has been frequently discussed by the Confederates and their friends in Europe within the last few months. The Southern mind, therefore, on both sides of the ocean, has been ripening for this step, and, if not already taken, is prepared to take it.

Intelligent observers of the struggle have long been aware that as a last resort the South possessed an element of latent strength which, whenever called forth, would at once shift the numerical superiority to the side which has heretofore been the weaker, and thus end the conflict. Those who knew the temper of the Southern people knew that, if the alternative were fairly presented between independence and the maintenance of negro slavery, *it would not hesitate an instant to sacrifice the latter to the former.* The choice made, it is not in the Southern character to resort to half-way measures. If the measure became expedient, it would be carried out thoroughly and without delay. *If negroes were to be armed, the arming would be en masse.* The chief obstacle lay, not in any fear of the use the negroes might make of their arms. On that subject, except in the few localities *where the negro has been corrupted by long contact with the Yankees, no Southern man ever entertained a doubt.* The difficulty was in the repugnance which a proud nation, regarding the bearing of arms as a privilege and an honor, must necessarily feel in extending that privilege and that honor to a servile race. But at the call of patriotism the Southerners would sacrifice this repugnance, as they have sacrificed property and life, without hesitation and without vain regrets. Our only reason for doubt, then, is that *we do not believe the stress of military necessity so great as to warrant the use of this last though infallible reserve.* At the same time it must be remembered that the South is led by men who will not wait until driven by necessity to resort to a measure which they foresee that the public safety may require.

The force which the South can thus suddenly throw into the scale, insuring prompt success, is easily available. Five hundred thousand would indeed comprise nearly the whole number of able-bodied negroes within the jurisdiction of the Confederacy; but these could be spared with less detriment to agricultural pursuits than any equal proportion of any other laboring population. The South has abandoned all its usual staples. Nothing now is asked from the soil but food. For the production of this *black female labor will suffice*, and in health, hardiness and strength the females of the African race far exceed the peasant women of continental Europe. The rich lands of the cotton region are easily tilled, and the young and aged who cannot fight can grow corn and tend cattle. Nor is there any serious difficulty in organizing this force. In the South, unlike the North, the relations between the white man and the black are well defined, and are accepted by both without question; they rest upon a reciprocal confidence and a perfect understanding of each other's character. The white man, therefore, will not feel degraded or in an anomalous position in commanding negro troops. If the discipline of the plantation is less rigorous than that of the camp, it is nevertheless an admirable preparation for the latter, and has, moreover, the merit of furnishing, ready to hand, a class of efficent non-commissioned officers, accustomed to the exercise of delegated authority over those of their own color, and to the responsibility for their good behavior. Even the scarcity of arms is no insuperable obstacle. There are probably enough of fire-arms for a select corps of negroes, already familiar with their use; and as for the others, it may be doubted whether they would not be more effective in the field with the more primitive weapons which the blacksmith's shop on every plantation could readily forge out of the implements of husbandry. *A hundred thousand negro pikemen or scythemen would probably be a more formidable body for immediate service than the same number of raw recruits entrusted with unwonted weapons.* There is no doubt also that the greater part of the negro levies would be quickly thrown across the Northern border, where at worst they would have to meet foes no better armed or drilled than themselves. As for the negro's courage, *when supported and led by his master, not against him, we have never entertained a doubt.* The Confederate negro troops will be as much superior in steadiness and effectiveness to the black levies of the North, as the sepoys under European officers were to the mutinous hordes of Nana Sahib. Besides, what the negro lacks in that intelligence which characterizes the white American volunteer he more than supplies by implicit obedience and insensibility to danger, and he thus possesses the very qualities which professional officers are prone to consider the highest of the soldier.

If the military importance of such an enormous accession of the numerical strength of the Confederacy is almost beyond adequate comprehension, the political and social aspects of the measure assume even more gigantic proportions. *It is the most complete scheme of emancipation that visionary ever dreamt of*, and though we cannot disguise the terrible danger of thus subverting at one blow the whole social fabric of a great country, it is undeniable that the experiment, if it has to be tried, is tried in this form with immensely superior practical prospects, and under fewer disadvantages. The liberated slave is spared the demoralization of a violent change of authority and a disruption of natural ties, he does not learn the duties of freedom by those lessons of domestic treachery, of murder and arson, which the North undertook to teach him; he graduates, so to speak, into liberty, under the same guidance and protection around which the best feelings of his nature have wound themselves from his childhood. What the Yankees promised him as a reward of treason he receives as the guerdon of honorable service. Where they would have implanted corroding hatred, there grow the wholesome fruits of genuine gratitude; where they would have made him the irreconcilable enemy of the Southern white man, under whose care he has advanced from African barbarism to civilization and Christianity, he continues, what he has always been, an humble but confiding friend, yet with titles to respect from the superior race which he never before, or by any other means, could have enjoyed.

The general belief which the mere rumor that such a step was meditated by the South has received, and the dread which it has inspired in the North, are in themselves the most conclusive refutations of the slanders which have been so industriously propagated in regard to the treatment of the slaves by their masters. Surely if there were a tithe of that repressed antagonism *which Abolitionist fictions describe as the relation between a cruelly oppressed race and their oppressors, this act of the South would be the maddest of suicides.* If the inventors of these fictions really were so self-deluded as to believe them, they must scout the simple mention of such an act with ridicule. That they accept this as possible and even probable is a confession that they know the South's trust in the negro, and its reasons for that trust. If the South makes this great sacrifice, we shall not be without fears for the future consequences upon its industry; but we shall have the consolation that at last this brave and self-devoted nation stands before a prejudiced world in its true light. The most bigoted partisan of the North will then no longer be able to shut his eyes to the only issues involved in this American struggle—a nation occupying half a continent, rising as one man, old and young, male and female, master and serf, in self-defence against a foreign yoke. Whether or no the gift of freedom be a boon to the negro, time and experience alone can show; *but the only flag under which he can earn that dangerous boon will then be the cross on the white field, the emblem of hope and faith, and not the polluted and dishonored Stars and Stripes, the symbol of dominion and tyranny.* It will then be seen whether the professed sympathy for the slave is a genuine feeling or only a cloak to conceal envy of the master. The hypocrisy of the North which makes the freeing of the slaves a pretext for enslaving the free man, will no longer find any so lost to shame on this side of the Atlantic as to defend it. Among the nations of the earth the Confederate States will stand distinguished for the most courageous experiment of emancipation on record, an experiment on so unprecedented a scale that the boasted self-sacrifices of other nations in distant colonial possessions sink beside it into utter insignificance. And if ever a nation gave proofs of earnestness of purpose and of a character of heroic mould, it will have been that nation which battled for years against a vastly superior foe, and *which did not account wealth, dominion, cherished prejudices, both present and future prosperity—nay, its entire social fabric—too dear a price to pay for independence.*

FRANKLIN PIERCE TO JEFF. DAVIS.

[Among the papers of Jeff. Davis, seized by our troops, near Jackson, Miss., is a letter from Frank Pierce, dated January 6th, 1860. Probably other letters of his are among the papers secured; but we have seen no other in print. A copy of this was sent to the Concord (N. H.) *Democrat*, by Capt. Wm. H. Gibbs of the second Illinois brigade, who has in his possession the original. The letter is as follows:]

CLARENDON HOTEL, January 6th, 1860.

MY DEAR FRIEND: I wrote an unsatisfactory note a day or two since. I have just had a pleasant interview with Mr. Shepley, whose courage and fidelity are equal to his learning and talents. He says he would rather fight the battle with you as the standard bearer in 1860 than under the auspices of any other leader. The feeling and judgment of Mr. Shepley in this relation is, I am confident, rapidly gaining ground in New England. Our people are looking for "the coming man"—one who is raised by all the elements of his character above the atmosphere breathed by politicians. A man really fitted for this emergency by his ability, courage, broad statesmanship and patriotism. Col. Seymour (Thomas H.) arrived here this morning and expressed his views in this relation in almost the identical language used by Mr. Shepley. It is true that in the present state of things at Washington, and throughout the country, no man can predict what changes two or three months may bring forth. Let me suggest that in the many debates of Congress, full justice seems to me not to have been done to the Democracy of the North. I do not believe our friends at the South have any just idea of the state of feeling hurrying at this moment to the pitch of intense exasperation, between those who respect their political obligations, and those who have apparently no impelling power but that which fanatical passion on the subject of domestic slavery imparts. Without discussing the question of right—of abstract power to secede—I have never believed that actual disruption of the Union can occur without blood; and if, through the madness of Northern Abolitionists, that dire calamity must come, the fighting will not be along Mason and Dixon's line merely. It will be within our own borders, in our own streets, between the two classes of citizens to whom I have referred. Those who defy law and scout constitutional obligations will, if we ever reach the arbitrament of arms, find occupation at home. Nothing but the state of Mrs. Pierce's health would induce me to leave the country now, although it is quite likely that my presence at home would be of little service. I have tried to impress upon our people, especially in New Hampshire and Connecticut, where the only elections are to take place during the coming Spring, that, while our Union meetings are all in the right direction and well enough for the present, they will not be worth the paper upon which their resolutions are written unless we can overthrow political abolitionism at the polls and repeal the unconstitutional and obnoxious laws which in the cause of "personal liberty" have been placed upon our statute books. I shall look with deep interest and not without hope for a decided change in this relation.

Ever and truly your friend,
FRANKLIN PIERCE.

Hon. JEFF. DAVIS, Washington, D. C.

GREELEY'S HISTORY.

From The New York Leader.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD says:

"Horace Greeley is understood to be preparing a 'History of the Rebellion,' not so much in its military as in its moral and political phases. His qualifications for such a work are of a high order, and we shall await its completion with no common interest."

Horace Greeley is indeed, in one sense, well qualified to write a History of the Rebellion, if he likes. Such a history would be almost an autobiography of *The Tribune* philosopher. He knows who caused the rebellion, and who encouraged it, as well as he knows himself. Half of his book, at least, could be made up of disunion extracts from the disloyal *Tribune*.

Greeley knows all the plots of the anti-slavery fanatics. He knows what they wanted to do, what they attempted to do, and what they at last accomplished. He has long been one of these radical conspirators; and his book, if truly written, will be more of a confession than a history.

Still, we hardly believe that Greeley is engaged upon any such work. He has other fish to fry just at present, and, besides, he lacks capacity to take up a great subject and treat it understandingly. This is evident from all his editorials in *The Tribune*, which are, like himself, slipshod and down at the heel. Greeley will write a "History of the Rebellion" when roast larks drop from the skies.

TILTON.

From The New York Leader.

THERE is a young man named Tilton, and he edits *The Independent*.

He also makes speeches before Abolition Conventions, and writes for *The Tribune*, and is chief cook and bottle-washer for Henry Ward Beecher, and holds Horace Greeley's hat, and sits at the feet of the Reverend Cheever, and is a negro-worshipper dyed in the wool.

Now, while the Conscription was being enforced, Tilton penned and published a most ferocious article stating that it was the duty of every true man to go to the war if he were drafted. To obtain a substitute was cowardly. To pay the exemption fee was mercenary. The man who did either swindled the government. And many more hard words to that effect.

The conscription proceeded, and Tilton was drawn. He is an able-bodied man, with a great deal more muscle than brains, and he believes in the war for the negro, and all that sort of thing. But, strange to say, he won't go. The last time we heard of him he had brought an ineligible substitute before the Board of Enrollment, and the substitute was refused. We want to know what reason Tilton has for staying at home, and whether we may not justly apply to him the epithets he has heaped upon other people, under the same circumstances? Answer us, young man, and do not prevaricate.

WILLIAM H. FRY, of *The Tribune*, was recently drafted, and upon hearing of the fact we immediately offered to make him general band master of our entire army. Our liberal offer, as well as that of the Secretaryship of the Italion Legation, he decidedly refused, on account of his devotion to art. He wanted to stay at home to complete his opera. He has completed it, and it is now in Maretzek's hands. The *role* of Esmeralda, a sylph-like gypsy dancing girl, is of course just suited to the graceful Medori. The music is a magnificent combination of the best melodies of Bellini, Rossini, Donizetti, Mozart, Beethoven, Meyerbeer, Petrella, and all other ancient and modern composers. Such a work as this can only be written once in a century and performed once in a century. It is to operas what the American aloe is to plants. For this reason, "Esmeralda" will be withdrawn after a splendid run of one consecutive night. Two nights of Fry's last and largest production would be too much for our distracted country. Our grandchildren may possibly hear it again, some time in 1963; but the present generation will certainly not have that pleasure. "Esmeralda," then, will crown the other glories of the season, and be the grand sensation of this Indian Summer in the Metropolis.—*Herald*.

Selections.

EDUCATION OF THE CHILDREN OF THE FREEDMEN.

REV. SAMUEL J. MAY—*Dear Sir*: In reply to your very polite suggestion received yesterday, I take the first leisure hour to briefly give you my views in relation to the freedmen, and the importance of an early establishment of a system of education for the children and youth among them—though the intimation was so long in reaching me, that I cannot hope to do so in time for the occasion on which it was desired.

Of course it needs no argument with you, or the enlightened people of your benevolent and philanthropic city, to show the advantages of a system of general education; but all may not realize how pressing the necessity for a prompt and vigorous action to meet the demands of this new-born people in this particular. There are many who think that it will be time to attend to the mental and moral wants of the blacks "after the war is over" and their political *status* fixed. But the experience of the last few months ought to convince such that longer delay is treason to humanity. The tares are being sown with unceasing vigilance; let the "good seed" also be scattered so as to secure at least a portion of the harvest. There are some also who still believe or affect to believe that the colored race is so degraded by nature as to be lost to reasonable appliances and beyond the reach of the ordinary means of instruction. Such place themselves outside the pale of reason and common sense, and are not of the class to which we look for patriotism or benevolence.

It is true this people come to us ignorant, degraded and demoralized from the long night of barbarism and oppression under which they have toiled and suffered for generations. But though their minds are darkened and their sensibilities blunted, they possess a latent energy of intellect and susceptibility of heart, which only needs the stimulant of motive to develop and vindicate their claims to manhood and freedom. They come thirsting for knowledge, and with an abiding religious faith that freedom and intelligence go hand in hand, and that loyalty to the government is duty to God. It is truly surprising to see with what avidity young and old among them seize upon the means of knowledge and how eagerly they catch at every facility for instruction.

Instead of turning them off to remain in ignorance and darkness for months and years, perhaps, until it shall be definitely determined whether they shall be admitted to all the rights and privileges, responsibilities and duties, of freemen and citizens; humanity and common prudence, to say nothing of Christian philanthropy and benevolence, require that we should at once commence to feed them from the "tree of life," and fit them for the duties and obligations of manhood and citizenship.

The best possible school for the adult male population has been providentially secured in the necessity for their employment as soldiers. In this school they most readily acquire the pride and self-respect of men and rise quickest to an appreciation of the honor and dignity of freemen. From the filth, and rags, and degradation of chattels, to be fed and clothed and paid as *men* and recognized as necessary to the government, gives them an inspiration of manhood, which could be derived from no other source so readily.

It remains to provide *homes* for the families—in which the women can be educated to habits of order and refinement, and the proper exercise of parental authority, and where paternal, filial and fraternal ties may be fostered and strengthened—and a *system of instruction* for the children and youth, so that the next generation may be fully qualified for the enlightened discharge of the responsibilities of freemen and citizens.

The first must await to a great degree the reëstablishment of the government and the operation of the Confiscation laws. But the last cannot be delayed without irreparable injury; and the far-reaching philanthropy and enlarged benevolence of the free and enlightened North has responded to this necessity to a degree and with an alacrity which is astonishing when we consider the condition of the country and the numerous drafts upon its liberality.

The greatest obstacles have been removed and the schools already established have prepared the way for the intelligent occupation of the wide and constantly extending field, opened by the madness of the South, to the conquest of freedom and truth. The gallant band of heroic ladies who, amid scorn and contempt, entered this field of home-missionary labor, have, in a few short months of zealous effort, demonstrated beyond controversy, the fact that this proscribed race are as eager for knowledge and as susceptible of cultivation as any other benighted and neglected people. But far richer returns will follow future efforts, when the population shall become more surely located and less liable to the fluctuations occasioned by military changes.

In surveying the vast field and contemplating the future of this wronged and defenceless population—in considering the various means for their amelioration and cultivation, there is nothing that promises so rich a return for the labor expended as the education of the children. Until the States are restored to the Union, and humane and equal laws are adopted and administered, this interest will depend almost solely upon the benevolence and liberality of the people of the North. The friends of freedom and human equality can confidently and safely rely upon this power for an ultimate and final vindication of their principles, and every day lost in prosecuting the work is lost to freedom and humanity. It has been commenced vigorously and well—let it be continued and pushed on with energy and zeal through every avenue until the late domain of slavery is reduced and regenerated, and freedom and intelligence occupy the places of oppression and ignorance.

It is in this view that I have been led to endorse and heartily sustain the idea first suggested by Miss Merrick, of Syracuse, of immediately laying the foundation of a permanent institution for the education of the *orphan* children of slavery. That they must be numerous, a moment's reflection upon the operations of slave laws and the customs of slave-holding society, must satisfy any one; that they are unprotected, defenceless, and peculiarly dependent, we need only consider that the whole race has been reared in servitude and only now come in possession of the rights of their own labor. *All* are poor, needy and dependent; what then must be the condition of their children left to the tender mercies of avarice, degradation and vice, with none specially interested to lift them up and find them houses and friends? The number must be legion, who have no known kindred and who are without the guidance of even ignorant and degraded parents.

In providing at once an institution especially devoted to the interests of this most unprotected and suffering class among the millions of God's suffering poor now thrown upon our mercy, it seems to me we are but acting the part of wisdom and prudence. If taken at once from the degradation and filth of their present condition, and purified and enlightened by the hand of civilization they may soon be returned as ministers of good to their kindred, and heralds of mercy and civilization to their race.

At a cost entirely insignificant in comparison with resulting benefits, hundreds of these little outcasts could be gathered into an asylum here, and sustained and educated, and in a few short years sent forth with habits and character and intellectual endowments that would enable them to exert a most powerful influence for good among their colored brethren. It would soon become practically a most efficient normal school, for the education and preparation of teachers for the freedmen. It seems to me it is a proposition that must find favor with all who regard the interests of humanity and wish well to the colored race.

It will be far more easy, and much less expensive to establish such an institution now than after the government has withdrawn its direct agency in sustaining the freedmen, and now is the time to inaugurate the enterprise in order to secure the best advantages and the largest benefits. Syracuse alone, with a proper consideration of the subject, would delight to found and sustain such an asylum as a speciality. Her daughters are prepared to give their energies, their hearts, their lives to the work—will not her sons afford the material aid necessary to sustain an enterprise so worthy and so auspiciously commenced.

In the bonds of common humanity, I remain, sir,
Very truly and respectfully,
HARRISON REED,
U. S. Tax Collector for Florida.

PROTEST OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN A. S. SOCIETY.

[The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society has sent to Earl Russell the following memorial on the subject of the fitting out of steam rams for the Confederates:]

No. 27 NEW BROAD STREET, E. C., Sept. 4.

To Right Hon. Earl Russell, Her Majesty's Secretary for Foreign Affairs:

MY LORD: The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society feel constrained to address you on a subject which has for many months claimed their attention, and which appears to them to be one now requiring immediate action on the part of Her Majesty's government; they refer to the construction and equipment of vessels-of-war in the Mersey and in the Clyde, and particularly of two steam rams with turrets, intended for the rebel or Confederate States of the American Union, to be employed against the commerce of a power with which we are at peace.

Your Lordship is aware that the society has for its object the extinction of slavery wherever it exists; wherefore they cannot view without deep concern the attempt by force of arms, which is being made by certain parties in the United States to constitute a new and independent republic, formed of slaveholding communities, with the one avowed object of perpetuating and consolidating slavery as an institution; nor regard without apprehension the material assistance which is being extended to them by the equipment of war vessels in British ports, in direct violation of the Foreign Enlistment act, and of the Queen's proclamation. Although the Committee could urge many urgent reasons for government interference in the present case, they consider that on anti-slavery grounds alone such interference is justifiable; and they therefore respectfully but earnestly entreat Her Majesty's government peremptorily to prohibit the departure of the two steam rams referred to, until the constructors shall produce satisfactory evidence that they are not intended for the rebel or Confederate States.

I have the honor to be, my Lord, your Lordship's obedient servant (on behalf of the Committee),
L. A. CHAMEROVZOW, Sec'y.

MISSOURI.

WHOEVER supposed that the cause of immediate emancipation in Missouri was abandoned when the Convention finally passed its flagitious ordinance, which was really for the perpetuation and not the extinction of slavery, underrated the courage and devotion of the Radical party in that State. Against all obstacles and discouragements, the struggle for freedom is resolutely maintained. The State is to be saved both by faith and works; by unswerving fidelity to the principles of universal liberty which underlie this conflict, and by unremitting efforts in politics, in military affairs, in social life, to establish their ascendency. We regard the success of the Radical party in Missouri as indissolubly blended with the interests of the State, its freedom and its adherence to the Union; and we watch its progress with scarcely less solicitude than we have felt for the heroic Unionists of East Tennessee.

There are really but two parties in Missouri—the Copperheads and the Radicals. The former is divided into two sections, open disloyalists and conservatives; but the action of the party is so wholly controlled by traitors, and is so wholly directed in the interest of the rebellion, that the conservatives are practically identified with their allies. The peculiarity of the case is that they maintain a connection equally close with the representatives of a government which they are really opposed to, and to whose general policy they have never for a moment given their adhesion. They oppose the proclamation of Emancipation, the Confiscation Act, the Conscription Act, and even the establishment of its military authority within the State; yet they enjoy its patronage, control its offices, and have fully succeeded in creating a feeling of antagonism between the Administration and the only party in the State which unequivocally supports its measures. And it is to the adoption of their policy that Missouri owes most of her misfortunes for the last two years and her present deplorable condition.

A comprehensive statement of the questions at issue between these parties may be found in a recent speech by Col. B. Gratz Brown, himself one of the earliest and ablest emancipationists in the State. Nothing could be more complete than his exposition of the attempt by the present Provisional government to carry on war as a State; a right which the Federal Constitution does not recognize, except when actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay. Yet Gov. Gamble has sought not merely to create an independent military establishment, but has persisted in a course of flagrant disobedince to Congressional enactments and of opposition to the orders of the War Department. Disregarding and defying the well-known 102d Article of War, forbidding the return of fugitives by troops in the service of the United States, he ordered the surrender of all fugitives to loyal owners, and excluded all negroes from the camp. The enrolled militia were held under the exclusive orders of State officers. The assitance of the State troops was peremptorily refused to United States officers in the most urgent cases. The requisitions of the Provost-Marshal General for troops to act against guerillas were denied. The authority of the General Commanding the Department of Missouri was publicly defied. Enlistments for the enrolled militia of the State into the service of the United States were discouraged and even prohibited, an act than which it is difficult to conceive one more contemptuous of national authority or more significant of hostile intent in the future. When a show of recalling the prohibition was subsequently made, it was provided that the militia might be *permitted* to enlist in United States volunteer regiments, but that no recruit should leave his militia company until discharged by the Colonel of his regiment! The assumption of such a power was of course a nullification of the Conscription law, and a most offensive assertion of the dogma of State sovereignty. Grant it, and it is difficult to see how the right of secession could be either logically controverted or practically resisted.

In officering the enrolled militia of the State, whoever was conspicuous of loyalty was excluded, and whoever showed a purpose to enforce the war measures and policy of the National government was removed from command. Gov. Gamble urged upon the President to cashier the lamented Lyon, because of his sudden blow at the rebellion in the destruction of the State camps under Gov. Jackson. When the United States troops had driven the rebels out of Missouri into Arkansas, this was the expression of thanks from the mouth of the Governor:

"Although our State has been visited by a class of troops who came with feelings of hostility to our people and to our institutions, and who, under the guise of supporting the Union, perpetrated enormous outrages upon our citizens, yet successful measures have been adopted for the security of our people and for the removal of such troops, so as to relieve us from their presence in future."

Whatever General in the National service was found inflexible in his devotion to the National cause, was assailed by intrigues and by open opposition, and in two most conspicuous instances their removal was effected. Under the orders of the State, the negroes employed as teamsters by the government were returned into slavery and to rebel owners. The State milita were withheld from the U. S. service, even when required to repel invasion, and in this State which had been declared subject to martial law, was presented the extraordinary spectacle of a body of troops on a war footing, controlled by independent authority and restrained from coöperation against the enemy.

Where such a policy has been persistently pursued, it cannot be wondered at that the following description of the present condition of Missouri should be found exact:

"Missouri was never, never, never in such a woeful condition before. Guerilla bands roaming at will over half the State, camping for weeks undisturbed in their rendezvous, or organizing distant expeditions into neighboring territories; the highways red with the blood of murdered travellers; mails broken up; paymasters robbed; trains burned; negroes wherever found with free certificates inhumanly butchered by the enemy, returned to slavery by State officials, or imprisoned on behalf of the United States. Returning soldiers from the confederate armies consorting with those who have violated their parole, serve to recruit and animate bushwhacking in every County from the townships of St. Louis to the extreme border. Sending the dangerous classes beyond the lines has suddenly been abandoned; on the contrary, military prisons are now emptied into the interior of the State. The accord between the lately-installed Department Commander and the Provisional Government is uninterrupted by any success. Accumlating miseries and calamitous command seem only to knit closer the union of incompetency on the one hand and ill-disguised treachery on the other. Suppression of free-soil newspapers and seizure of their presses; arrest and incarceration of Union men where they venture to complain of these things; dismisssal of Provost-Marshals who make it a duty to resist such misrule; railways placarded with United States orders to prohibit travel of contrabands; communities placed under passport system to prevent their outgoing; persons charged with smuggling quinine and gunpowder to the enemy walking the streets on parole; and yet loyal citizens disarmed under the plea of preventing collision; a general reign of terror in all exposed districts, and of despotic intimidation elsewhere, serve to fill up the picture."

And what relates more immediately to the present military administration of the Department is summed up as follows:

"Slavery rules to-day throughout Missouri in official circles, as ruthlessly as it did under Gov. Jackson and Gen. Harney. The only energies displayed by the appointees of the President are directed to the persecution of Anti-Slavery men. The civil list, both State and National, in our midst, with a few honorable exceptions in the Treasury and War Departments, is made up of those hostile to the proclamation. Under their auspices the Confiscation Act has been made a dead letter, and in conjunction with the Provisional government, no stone has been left unturned, no agency unemployed to prevent an ordering of the conscription in Missouri. That ill-will, on the part of the State authorities, should exist against any recruitment of negro regiments here was to be expected; but that indignities should be heaped on those already recruited, subjecting them to search and seizure, and finally stripping them of their arms until ordered to leave the State, was left to the present United States commander in this Department. It is a fact worthy of attentive reflection that Gen. Schofield, whose record was one of inefficiency and Pro-Slaveryism here before, who was unanimously rejected by the Senate of the United States on that very alleged ground, who deemed it needful when lately recommissioned to write a letter published throughout the North, setting himself forth an Anti-Slavery man, should yet, on his arrival here, surround himself with those notoriously wedded to slavery, and so conduct his administration as in the brief space of three months to lose the confidence of all within his jurisdiction who are identified with the cause of freedom."

Heretofore we have traced to the same cause the permission of such an outrage as the massacre at Lawrence. It seems to us that it would be wise for the Administration gravely to consider how long a policy fruitful of such results is to be persisted in.—*Tribune*.

NEWS DIRECT FROM RICHMOND.

I HAVE just had a visit from Wesley, one of the five of Gen. Lee's slaves who attempted to make their escape about four years ago and were captured, brought back to Arlington, taken to the barn and whipped, each fifty lashes, the open wounds washed with salt and vinegar, and then sent down South. Wesley is brother of the girl whom Gen. Lee himself whipped when the overseer refused to do so. He was sent to Tuscaloosa, Alabama; Mary to Richmond. It seems they have neither of them had a very hard life since then; he says he has never had a "*lick*" except the one Gen. Lee gave him. Gen. Lee's son, Curtis, gave him his pass, and he left Richmond last Friday, and reached his poor old father and mother at Arlington Tuesday morning. He says the Union soldiers at first were suspicious that he was a spy, that he was blindfolded and taken on a horse from Culpepper through the Union lines. He says there are no troops in Richmond, and the people are in constant alarm, fearing the Union soldiers will come; that there is the greatest destitution among them, and that he has seen ladies, who last year owned hundreds of slaves *out barefoot, picking blackberries to sell for bread!* So we see the retribution. The tables are turned. As Wesley says, they are now worse off than the slaves themselves. His sister, he says, is now waiting upon a lady at $16 a month, but that $2 here would be better for her; that they have their clothes packed ready to come North as soon as they can do so under a flag of truce. He showed me the pair of shoes he had on, for which he paid $25 Confederate money. I begged some of the money from him, as a relic. I asked him if he brought anything else that would be a curiosity; he said no, it "'peared like he didn't want to bring anything away with him."

Wesley is a very truthful, honest fellow, and I should suppose might give much valuable information to government, and for which he certainly should be liberally rewarded.

He says he was never so happy in his life as he has been for the last two days; that he now feels free and like a man; and that he is going to school, the first thing he does, at the Freedmen's Camp at Arlington; says he can read a little now; that his father and mother never wish to leave the old place, but he is going where he can make the money. A.

Washington, Sept. 10. —*Independent*.

SOUTHERN SLAVERY AND THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

To the Editor of The North American and U. S. Gazette.

FROM several pamphlets recently published and extensively circulated, it has become evident that a new issue in Pennsylvania party politics has been inaugurated, viz.: Whether negro slavery, as it is maintained in the Southern States now in rebellion against the National government, is consistent with the Christian religion?

I deem it proper, therefore, in order that every one may be enabled to judge for himself on this important subject, to give a very brief summary of the legal incidents of Southern slavery. Every part and parcel of this summary may be authenticated by the statutes of one or other of these States, and the reported decisions of their highest courts of judicature.

It is a fundamental principle of negro slavery that a slave is a *thing*—a chattel wholly under the dominion of his master, subject to be bought and sold precisely as if he were a horse or a mule. He may be fed and clothed much or little as his master may prescribe—may be compelled to labor as well on one day as another, and as hard and as long as his master may direct.

The slave has no legal right whatever—cannot own anything, may be forbidden all society with his fellows, may be kept in the most abject ignorance, is not allowed to be instructed to read, is without any legal provision for acquiring a knowledge of his religious duties, incapable of a lawful marriage, denied all authority over those who are admitted to be his natural offspring, liable to have them at any age torn from him, without the slightest consultation or deference to his judgment or his feelings, and liable himself to be torn from them and from their mother, with whom he has been permitted and encouraged to cohabit as his wife. He may be thus ruthlessly carried to a returnless distance, not only from his children and their mother, but from all else that he may hold dear.

The law also expressly sanctions his master in beating him with a horsewhip or cowskin, in chaining him, putting him in irons, compelling him to wear pronged iron collars, confining him in prison, hunting him with dogs, and when *outlawed*, as he may be for running away, he may be killed by any one to whom he may refuse to surrender.

The whole of this summary I pledge myself to maintain in its literal and full extent, according to the law of one or another of the Southern slaveholding States. GEO. M. STROUD.

Philadelphia, Sept. 15, 1863.

For The North American and U. S. Gazette.

I was truly glad to see Judge Stroud's brief but most correct description of the peculiar institution. I do not suppose that any of his legal brethren will challenge the proof of his veracity. Nor am I inclined to furnish any detailed evidence of it; but I cannot forbear to add to his testimony that of one or two Southern judges, which I happened to find but a few days since in Judge Stroud's own "Sketch of the Laws of Slavery." Judge Ruffin, of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, in 1862, said: "The power of the master must be absolute. This discipline belongs to the state of slavery; it constitutes the curse of slavery to both the bond and free; but it is inherent in the relation of master and slave." Judge Wardlaw, of South Carolina has also said: "Every endeavor to extend to a slave positive rights is an attempt to reconcile inherent contradictions, for in the very nature of things he is subject to despotism."

To these authorities let me add a remark or two. However just and benevolent some of the slave laws might be, and though some of them might be supposed to be obsolete, there is one law which must make the system a practical despotism, viz.: that which denies the right of any slave to bear witness against his master. And further, in all the laws of the South there is not one which protects a female slave against the licentiousness of a master, or gives her father or husband any redress for the violence to which she may be exposed. This is the worst half of the "curse" which Judge Ruffin admits to inhere in the system, both "to the bond and the free," and of which Mrs. Kemble's book is too true an illustration.

From the above facts it may be inferred that the practice of slavery is even worse than its "laws." And it may easily be imagined how far Southern slavery is "consistent with the precepts of the Christian religion." It is only so far that even Bishop Hopkins defends it, in a pamphlet which I venture to say is condemned by the almost universal voice of the Episcopal clergy of Vermont, as well as Pennsylvania.

While I have Judge Stroud's book before me let me make another remark, and quote another testimony from the South itself. Southern slavery is generally controlled not by hereditary slaveholders, but by mercenary overseers, who have no interest in the well-being of the slaves. Hence, much of the barbarity which is practiced in the South, to the grief and loss of the slaveholders themselves. Of these slave-drivers, the celebrated Wm. Wirt, in his life of Patrick Henry, as quoted by Judge Stroud, says: "Last, and lowest of the different classes in Virginia, is a feculum of beings called overseers, the most abject, degraded, unprincipled race, always cap in hand to the dons who employ them, and furnishing materials for the exercise of their pride, insolence, and spirit of domination." HUMANUS.

Philadelphia, Sept. 18, 1863.

A PLEA FOR THE COLORED RACE.

THE spectacle presented to the world, by the colored race of this country, ought to excite the sympathy and compel the admiration of men and angels. Doomed, through long centuries of barbarism, to all the degradations of slavery, the individuals thereof have, with singular unanimity, forgetting their unnumbered wrongs and the powerful provocations to revenge, come heartily to the support of the Union cause; and are endeavoring, by their fidelity, their courage and their Christian forgiveness of all that they have suffered, to win some higher and better place—some recognition, however faint—in the estimation of the superiors by whom they have been oppressed. They ask only the chance to prove their manhood. Ignorant as they assuredly are; debased as they must logically be by what they have endured, they still entreat us, by all that's patriotic in government and sacred in religion, to be the witnesses of what they will do to establish their claim to be recognized as men, worthy of a chance in this wide world to earn their bread—worthy of the enjoyment of that commonest right, the right to own themselves. On many a bloody field, at the head of many a desperate charge, in many a hazardous venture, their regiments have done deeds that white men, with all their boasting, might envy. And almost sublime in their forgiveness of all that's gone before, they have, even in moments when the provocation to excess was strongest, and the mercilessness of the enemy most apparent, refrained from the bloody revenges that even white men are not slow to exact. Their true heroism is as much in their mercy and forgiveness of centuries of intolerable outrage and injury, as in their readiness to encounter a new and more infernal slavery, the torture of the whip, and the fagot, and a lingering and cruel death, in their defence of the right. With no guarantees of the future—uncertain that in the end they may not, after their sacrifices and losses, be again thrust deeper down into those regions of despair whence they struggle to come forth into the sunlight of liberty and hope, they still press forward, happy if offered a chance to establish their manhood, and to die for the flag in which are reflected the contentment and protection of their future. Were these men foreigners of any nationality—either Germans, Irish, Scandinavians or English—their countrymen among us would never be tired of reciting their exploits and claiming for themselves higher consideration for what the heroes had done; and we, to the manor born, should echo the praise and gladly admit the demand.

These are facts. How, in the face of the story that they tell, can the American people, who, not a century ago, were struggling for recognition and independence, excuse the manner in which these colored men are met? How can the hate, the bitter scorn, the falsehood and reviling and the general and special diabolisms of the Copperhead press be justified before the world or made even tolerable to just Heaven? How can the tardy and faint applause and timid and doubtful encouragement of those of our own political faith, be made to serve the purposes of the hearty justice and manly generosity that should greet efforts like these that the negroes have put forth for our country's sake? And how shall we answer for the preservation on our statute-books of those inhuman enactments by which needless and sharp insult is added to more needless and sharper wrong? How shall we hope for success in the establishment of the government on the eternal foundations upon which the fathers built, if we persist in denying the most ordinary of rights to this persecuted race? "This is a world of compensations," said Mr. Lincoln in one of his most profound aphorisms, "and he who would himself be free, must own no slave." We accept and enlarge this saying, and declare that until as a nation we release the negroes from thrall, we hope in vain for disenthrallment ourselves. Hence, we beg, even at the hands of opponents, for this race that sympathy and admiration that their conduct may justly demand. If they struggle to be free, and as free, better patriots, better Christians, and better men, in Heaven's name, let them win. We have no fear of negro equality, nor of debasement of the Northern blood. These are the bugbears that partisanship uses in the service of injustice. We have no apprehension of a negro inundation from the South. That is excited only where duplicity plays with and imposes upon ignorance. But we do fear and apprehend the national consequences, to be reaped in a season of war and a harvest of blood, of the continuation of that system by which four million of men, inevitably and forever a component part of American nationality, whatever that is, are first debased and brutalized, and then denied the opportunity to shake oppression off. Cause and effect will not cease to maintain the relations that God ordained, because we will not see the results that they work out. The war that the last of human atrocities, Human Slavery, has brought upon us, will not wholly cease until slavery is destroyed, and the wrongs of which it has been the parent are expiated or forgiven. It is a fearful responsibility that this nation shoulders—its treatment of the African race. We plead that it may be lessened and lightened by a return to justice.

ENCOURAGEMENT TO LABOR FOR FREEDMEN.

FERNANDINA, Sept. 1.

REV. SAMUEL J. MAY—*Dear Sir*: As an illustration of the fact that the freedmen are alive to their interests, and appreciate the efforts made in their behalf, I will give you a few incidents.

For two weeks before the recent sale of forfeited property in this place by the U. S. Tax Commissioners, I was thronged with anxious colored men and women, who wanted to buy homes for their families. All set themselves to work to gather up the avails of their brief labor in freedom for this purpose. Some could bring nothing but willing hands and warm hearts, and such were made easy by the assurance that buildings should be erected on vacant lots and sold them "on time." The women generally exhibited the greatest zeal and energy as well as anxiety in this behalf; and at the sale, through the friendly agency of a faithful friend, and the kind forbearance of competitors, some thirty families secured homes at prices within their means to pay.

Several union meetings of the freedmen have been held to encourage enlistments, and promote the interests of the government. The discriminating loyalty and enthusiastic patriotism of both men and women then manifested would do honor to even those who have always enjoyed the full protection and benefits of the flag of freedom. And not long since the colored women called a meeting to take measures to secure a flag to be presented to the 1st Florida Colored Regiment now existing here. Fifty-five dollars was immediately raised and sent to New York, and when informed that it would take forty more, they promptly responded, refusing to receive a contribution from any but just colored women!

Since the closing of the schools for a two month's vacation, the children have exhibited such a desire to continue their studies, and the parents are so fearful that they will "fall back," that one of the more intelligent of the colored women, who has learned to read under the guidance of the teachers sent out from your vicinity, has been induced to open a school, and daily instructs a class of little children, for which she is paid two and three shillings each per week!

Not less than twenty letters were received by the last boat from colored soldiers in the army in South Carolina to their kindred here; and, in the absence of their more faithful friend and counsellor, the lady teacher (as my office is always open), I was called upon to read and answer at least a dozen of them. In nearly every case the most tender solicitude was

manifested, and the most faithful religious admonitions given. "Don't go in bad company," "Be good soldiers," Remember there is a God, and that you have a soul to save," were the friendly counsels of "the loved ones at home." Julia, the mother of four children like herself, black as midnight, says to her husband: "We are all well now, and get along well; Julia goes to school to Elsie Locey; I pay a dollar and a half a month, I so 'fraid she fall back before the ladies return; baby grows finely and runs all about; she will meet her pa at the gate with a kiss when he returns." Dick says to his son Jacob: "Be a good boy and always speak the truth—keep away from bad company—don't quarrel with nobody—remember the way you were brought up at home, and be a good soldier, and follower of the Savior" One neat and sensible black girl rejects an offer of marriage with spirit reminding her suitor that he is already engaged to another! Another wishes to accept the addresses of her lover, but her mother objects, and the girl acquiesces with becoming grace. Do not these things indicate human hearts under these black skins?

In every attribute of human character these freedmen are above the common estimate at the North, and equal to any people brought up in ignorance and bondage, and will as readily respond to proper efforts for their elevation. As a class they are essential to the future prosperity of the South, and as free laborers, if properly protected and directed, will cause the wilderness of the slave States to "blossom as the rose," and the desert waste to "smile with abundance." No graver political error, and no more cruel moral proposition was ever indulged in than that for their deportation and colonization, and I thank God that that idea is involved in insurmountable difficulties, while He has graciously made the administration of justice and mercy the only practicable avenue of escape from the evils which oppression and wrong have brought upon the country. When the nation is fully educated by the stern and unyielding providences which now shake her very foundations, up to the point of doing justice and recognizing the principles of republican equality as of universal application, there will be found little difficulty in satisfactorily solving the problem of "What shall be done with the black race?"

The interests and destiny of this proscribed and long-suffering people are now in the hands of their friends. Let them see to it that the opportunity is not lost of securing them against the enemies of freedom, and beyond the contingencies of political changes. Let them pour in "light—light—and illuminate the bottom" of this dark and pestilential swamp of slavery and degradation, and reëstablish beacons that shall forever enlighten and dispel its gloom and corruption.

In the bonds of common humanity, I remain, sir,
Very truly and respectfully,
HARRISON REED,
U. S. Tax Collector for Florida.

A NOBLE SENTIMENT.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 1, 1863.

IN one of our cities recently, the poor and friendless colored people were subjected to cruel outrage, and it was thought the military commander of the District rather winked at the wickedness than otherwise, and so two of the citizens who had the good fortune to be able to claim the acquaintance of the Secretary of the Treasury, wrote to that honorable and humane gentleman, begging him to bring the conduct of this subaltern to the attention of the Secretary of War. Mr. Secretary Chase promptly enclosed the letter, with a note of his own, to Mr. Stanton—and I hope I am betraying no trust that devolves upon me as a Department Clerk when I copy three lines from this hasty note, written not for the public, but for the single eye of a fellow-Secretary:

"WE CANNOT AFFORD TO WRONG ANY CLASS OF OUR PEOPLE. ONE POOR MAN, COLORED THOUGH HE BE, WITH GOD ON HIS SIDE, IS STRONGER, IF AGAINST US, THAN THE HOSTS OF THE REBELLION."

Let the country ponder upon that great sentiment—expressed with such beautiful simplicity. And let the friends of Mr. Chase cherish it in their memories, for when that great and good man shall die, no nobler inscription may be put upon his tombstone.—*Independent.* F.

THE FREEDMEN ON THE MISSISSIPPI.

THE SYSTEM OF FREE LABOR—LEASING THE PLANTATIONS.

Correspondence of The Evening Post.

ST. LOUIS, September 20, 1863

THE excitement on the Kansas border has culminated in what is called "Jim Lane's meeting." Between the fiery address of the roused Senator, and the heavy fall of rain during the proceedings, the assembled thousands were satisfied to wait and watch for the next opportunity to crush out the incendiaries of their homes and the assassins of their brothers and friends. No one better understands the management of those turbulent spirits who have survived all the hard blows of the border ruffian war than Lane. He declaims, anathematizes, swears and prays by turns, but he is always successful in preventing any unpleasant collisions between the people and the authorities. The determination, however, to get rid of Schofield and Ewing is more earnest and fixed than ever.

The sentiment of this State is undoubtedly anti-slavery, and radical at that. Think of the organization of a negro regiment in this city, and its marching through the streets in a triumphant procession, which never would have taken place but for the courage and independence of its commanding officer. This body of Union soldiers has gone to the South to join their brethren in the field.

THE LABOR QUESTION.

In a former letter I alluded to the work of subsisting black men, and the wisdom of the Secretary of War in appointing commissioners for the leasing of plantations on the river. The public will be surprised when the full results of this experiment are published. The system of labor adopted is quite different from that in the Port Royal islands, where the labor is paid by the task, and additional work *pro rata* to the crop produced. It is thought that the latter plan involved a complication of accounts which, if carried out upon a large scale, would end in confusion, besides giving the employer an opportunity to defraud the ignorant freedman unused to this new gospel of remuneration for labor. Mr. Field's plan is to pay the laborer so much a month, in the same way the laborer is paid in the North, only the rates are fixed by the commissioners, the employer being obliged to see that he is properly taught, clothed, fed and cared for. The payment now made is seven dollars a month for males and five for females over fifteen years of age; but a new basis of labor will be made for next year, giving ten dollars a month to males over seventeen years of age, and seven dollars to females.

Last Spring, at the time these plantations were leased, there were more than twenty thousand negroes, chiefly women and children and helpless men, within our lines. The sufferings these poor people endured, gathered there at Goodrich's Landing, were most heart-rending. Of course the leasing of these plantations was personally a dangerous affair for the lessees. Vicksburg was far from being in our possession, and the country was subject to destructive raids from guerillas. Some fifty plantations were, however, leased to a number of persons who were willing to take the risks, and on these plantations were placed as many negroes as could be provided for. But only a small number were disposed of in this way. Those who remained were in the hands of officers of the Quartermaster's Department, who were oftentimes illy-disposed towards the poor creatures, and they were left to want and suffering. There is a more healthy condition of affairs now, yet the government is providing for large numbers of these people through the Commissary and Quartermaster's departments, and under the rule of officers of the army. The Commissioners for Freedmen, in their report to the Secretary of War—recently published in your paper—advised that the management of the interests of the freedmen should be withdrawn from connection with the army as much as possible. If the Commissioners, during their investigations in the East, have found one reason in favor of this plan, they will find a thousand in the West, when they extend their investigations in this direction. Of course this suggestion does not apply to negroes who enlist, as they come at once under the military authority; but it must be remembered that when an able-bodied black is taken into the army, there is left behind an average of three or four of both sexes who are to be provided for in some way. It is useless to talk of sending these people North. They don't wish to go, and can be made more useful to society and themselves where they are.

PROSPECTS.

How shall they be employed without burdening the government? Can they ever be entrusted in the hands of their former masters, even under a system of compensation? And then the old question comes back again with renewed force: "What shall be done with them?" This important problem will probably be partly solved when the fact comes to be widely known that very large profits have been made this year by those loyal men who have leased and bought the plantations in different parts of the South. It was a vital point in Mr. Field's scheme, that the lessees of the plantations should be given the largest facilities for ensuring great gains in their experiment. Such a consummation is certain to repeople their desolated lands with an enterprising population, who will not only, by a gradual and practicable process, elevate the negro to real freedom, but restore to the commercial world those invaluable interests involved in the produce of cotton and sugar.

But there is a more important argument in support of this scheme which is worthy the consideration of our statesmen and legislators. If these vacated and confiscated lands are occupied by Northern men or loyal Southerners, and if General Fremont's suggestion be adopted, "that every honorably discharged soldier should receive a donation of confiscated land, to be occupied by him under certain military law," would not the entire question of the practical return of what are now the rebel States, to the Union, become one of early solution? You may put it on record as a settled fact, if our government continue to lease and sell these plantations, the valley of the Mississippi by next Spring will be filled up with an army of energetic, persevering Northern workingmen, who will teach the negroes to know that they are freemen, put money in their own pockets, and rehabilitate the State. EXILE.

MR. LINCOLN ON EMANCIPATION AND RECOGNITION.

From The London Post (government organ), Sept. 14.

IN the American news brought by the Asia, which we publish in another column, the military element is of less interest and importance than the political. * * * When the President informs us that "the strength of the rebellion is in its army," does he mean that the army of the South is the whole male population of the South capable of bearing arms? Because, if this is not meant, it seems hardly worth while to have stated a truism which holds good in every insurrection and every civil or foreign war whatever, and, if it is meant, it lets us know clearly enough what the President and the Federal government think of the pretended Unionist party in the South. In what can the strength of any conceivable or possible belligerent consist but in the army? The determination of the Confederates never to come back to the Union or give in is adumbrated with great *naivete* in the sentence where we are told that "no intimation from the rebel army, or from the men controling it, has ever come to the President's knowledge or belief. *It is exceedingly probable that such a thing will never come to his knowledge or belief.* Still we have the assurance that, "if it does come, it shall not be rejected or kept secret.' The Federal government is not likely to reject what it is fighting for. It would probably be glad to buy back the profits and emoluments of the Southern connection at any sacrifice—of the blacks or of principle. The generosity of the Northerners shown in their readiness to be liberal at other people's expense, as exposed in the President's assurance "that he suggested compensated emancipation, but the people objected to taxation to buy negroes," is not without a dash of irony. The President "does not believe that a compromise embracing the maintenance of the Union is now possible," and this must be taken in connection with the exhortation he addresses to his countrymen to "diligently apply our means" to put down the South *and accomplish the anomalous paradox of a compulsory Union.* This exposition of the views of the Federal government is contained in a manifesto nominally addressed to the New York Republican Convention alluded to before, who are as determined "not to tender peace to rebels in arms," as they are "not to consent to a separation"; who "repudiate intervention," and—which is significant—"promise to support the government in maintaining the ascendency of the American continent," which we presume means the realization of the Monroe doctrine; in which they are backed by the State Convention of Missouri, who "urge the government to resist French influence in Mexico."

Many are too prone to mistake the calculation of probabilities and the statement for facts, for an expression of sympathy or a decision on the merits of a case. There cannot be a greater error. Of course, if a new nation struggling into existence desired, and *had a legal right to claim, the recognition of its independence* from foreign powers, it would be entitled to it, quite irrespective of whether, in a particular set of circumstances, such recognition would do it harm or good. Whether the recognition of the South by the great Powers of Europe would only irritate the North, and make the whole nation fly to arms and declare war against the recognizing governments, or whether it would paralyze the Federals and end the contest, are considerations that ought not to weigh in the scale of justice if the South were legally entitled to recognition and demanded to have it. Right must be done, in spite of the wrongs it may bring upon us. But when we read of what is, diplomatically and in international law *merely a State in posse, in nubibus, in abeyance, recognizing another State, in an equally embryonic condition, in hopes of being recognized by it in return, we are driven to ask ourselves why such a useless form should be gone through, with no other possible result but that of dangling a red rag before the eyes of the infuriated Northern bull.* We must look at facts; we must ascertain probabilities by unimpassioned calculation. What is taking place, or may take place, between any European Power or Powers and Mexico, may concern those States alone. The pretensions set up by the United States to the whole American continent may be no better founded in law than such pretensions set up by France or any other European Power. *But if Mexico recognizes the Southern Confederacy, it will be a direct interference in the American quarrel.*

From The London Times, Sept. 14.

* * * Mr. Lincoln declares, too, that no compromise embracing the maintenance of the Union is now possible. He commits himself, in so many words, to a war of conquest, to last possibly, by his own admission, for years, and *without having any definite plan or policy whatever for the government of the country he proposes to conquer.* With such a prospect it is natural that not even the anticipated fall of Charleston was sufficient to rouse him to any language beyond that of sullen resolution. The chances of the conquest itself are distant enough, if the reënforcement of his armies proceeds as it has hitherto done in the Eastern States. The gunboats that patrol the Hudson, the artillery that commands the squares, and the twenty or thirty thousand men who garrison New York have produced a return of not quite two thousand conscripts. Even these are not likely to be of much use if he has to begin enforcing discipline in his new army by shooting seven substitutes for conscripts who had deserted. The negro troops will not help him if the Southern States, as seems to be the case, have made up their minds to the arming of the slaves. But when the last Confederate army is annihilated what does he imagine he could do with the miserable remnant of the Southern population and the mass of helpless negroes? He confesses that his hands are tied by the Emancipation proclamation, and that he can do little else than let things alone. Will the Americans be content to let the great ship of their republic drift any further helpless and rudderless into this vast and fearful storm, *with a pilot who confesses that he cannot guide her, but must let her drive before the wind?*

THE FRANCO-ENGLISH CLERICAL MISSION TO AMERICA.

VALEDICTORY EXERCISES AT THE BROADWAY TABERNACLE.

THE church of the Rev. Dr. Thompson, at the corner of Thirty-fifth street and Sixth avenue, commonly called the Broadway Tabernacle, was crowed to repletion on Sunday evening with a most fashionable congregation; the occasion being the valedictory services on the departure of the delegation of ministers who recently came to this country charged with a message of sympathy from the ministers of England and France. The Rev. Dr. Massie, LL D., of London, was the principal delegate, and addressed the meeting at considerable length.

The services opened with prayer, after which

Dr. Massie entered the pulpit and proceeded to address the immense congregation. His address was characterized by expressions of great warmth and fervor for the cause of the North in the struggle, as he designated it, against the slaveholding South. He said the same was the great prevailing feeling of the people of England. He would be very sorry indeed it it could be for a moment supposed that the true heart of the English people did not beat in sympathy with the American people and the great work before them. After a very stirring exordium, which stirred up the feelings of his hearers to a more than ordinary pitch of enthusiasm and expression of feeling to be exhibited in a church, the reverend gentleman proceeded to give his experience of the great cities of the Union through which he had lately travelled. Alluding to his visit to Washington, he said that his interview with the Secretary of Foreign Affairs was a most cordial one. He expressed the warmest sympathies with the object of the delegation. His next visit was to my Lord Lyons, her Britannic Majesty's Minister, and presented his credentials, expressive of the object of his visit to the American people. Lord Lyons said he was very glad indeed that he had come upon such a mission (applause)—and suggested the propriety of a visit to the President himself. Dr. Massie accordingly paid a visit to Mr. Lincoln, by whom he was received with all the courtesy and urbanity that was to be expected under the circumstances. The conference that ensued, though brief, was of the most intimate and pleasant character. Time would not permit him to enter into a full account of that interview, nor give an idea of the views and feelings of the President of the United States. He would undertake, however, to say that body and soul, life and limb, A. Lincoln was for the establishment of freedom on the American continent (loud applause). In every sense he is the true and unflinching friend of the enslaved negro. He is resolved by every implement of power and right that can be used never to give up the struggle for freedom, nor to go back one word, one clause, one sentence in the proclamation of Freedom to the blacks of armed rebels waging war against this glorious government (applause). He was also a friend, heart and soul, of his country—a thought supreme in his mind, and with the patriotic love of country so characteristic of his career, he adds that of the true Christian and honest man, who works and lives in the fear of God (applause). Dr. Massie next referred to his visits to numerous other cities and States, and made particular allusion to Missouri. The people of this State, he said, twelve years ago, were in England denominated "Missouri ruffians." Now, he was happy to say they were "Missouri Abolitionists." He next spoke of his impressions, derived from his intercourse with the religionists of every sect throughout the United States. He found no vindictive feeling whatever amongst any against the South, but the universal feeling was that the South should not be readmitted to the Union till slavery was abolished throughout her borders. The revolted States must come back as subjects, not as rulers; they must not only give up rebellion, but they must give up slavery also (applause). In reference to the fitting out of ships in English ports, and especially as regarded the Alabama, he said that this vessel surreptitiously escaped, but notwithstanding, the duty of the English government was to have sent a frigate after her, tracking her course everywhere, and either sinking her, with every soul on board, or else capturing her and hanging every man found on board as a pirate. These vessels were sent out by men who were a disgrace to the British nation, but whose ill-gotten gains would perish with them and the cause they so vilely and wickedly supported. He hoped the American nation would not charge the great crime upon the English people, but rather let it fall upon the shoulders of those men who were endeavoring to amass ill-gotton wealth at the expense of one of the noblest republics on earth. In conclusion, he said that as regarded a war between England and America, he hoped that that day would never dawn that would witness a collision between the two. England was to Europe what America was to all the world—the home and the hope of freedom. Rather let them come to a proper understanding of the true sentiments and sympathies animating each other, and then, instead of being in danger of collisions on account of freedom, they shall, in the hour of danger, rally to each other's side as brothers; and no better brother can be found than John Bull in such an emergency. He concluded by praying for the extinction of slavery and the unity of the republic, the return of peace to the counsels of the nation, when the influence of free America shall be equal to the combined influence of all other nations, and the Messiah himself, in His chariot of glory, shall abide among them.

The Rev. Dr. Thompson very eloquently responded, and the services were closed with the singing and the benediction.

HONORS TO GEN. ROSECRANS.

LAST evening was made brilliant at Llewellyn Park, N. J., by a tribute paid to the worth, patriotism and gallantry of Maj-Gen. Rosecrans, in the form of a serenade and the presentation of beautiful and appropriate gifts to his lady.

Mrs. Rosecrans has been for several weeks past the guest of her brother, Wm. Hegeman, Esq., of this city at his beautiful mansion recently built on the east side of Orange Mountain, in Llewellyn Park. Her presence there was soon known to the residents of Orange and vicinity, and in view of Gen. Rosecrans's heroic efforts on behalf of his country, it was determined by the residents of the Park to honor his lady and daughter with a serenade.

The residence and grounds of Mr. Hegeman were tastefully and appropriately decorated for the occasion under the auspices of the committee of residents, who were charged with carrying out the purpose. Over the entrance to the grounds, a splendid illuminated Italian arch, made of evergreens, had been erected. It was surmounted by a spread eagle in the centre, and a large vase filled with flowers at either end. On one side the transparencies was inscribed the words

ROSECRANS.
STONE RIVER. CHATTANOOGA.

On the reverse,

RICH MOUNTAIN.
IUKA. CORINTH.

The stars and stripes were raised on either side of the entrance. The residences also were decorated with flags, and without it was illuminated with Chinese lanterns, adding brilliancy to the view of the visitor as he approached the spot through the drives of the park.

At 9 o'clock, large numbers of carriages arrived, and in a few minutes the spacious parlors of Mr. Hegeman's mansion were filled by invited guests, and the verandahs and neighboring grounds were also occupied by ladies and gentlemen, who looked upon the scene from without.

Mrs. Rosecrans was formally introduced to many present, and very favorably impressed all who saw her. She is a lady above medium height, of about 38 years of age, spare in form and of light complexion. Her manner is dignified but pleasing, and she seemed at ease though conscious that she was the centre of observation.

She was dressed in a light plain silk with but little pretence at trimming. Her appearance and manner are such as one would expect to see in the wife of Gen. Rosecrans.

At 10½ o'clock the Bloomfield Glee Club sang from the balcony beautiful quartetts, and this was followed during the evening by others, and the performance of national and other compositions by Dodworth's Band, which had been imported for the occasion.

The company next assembled in the vestibule, where a surprise awaited Mrs. Rosecrans, in the presentation of a splendid flower stand and aquarium. It was of elegant construction and large size.

The presentation was in full view of nearly all who were upon the grounds, and was made by THEODORE TILTON, in behalf of the donors. He said:

FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS: I am requested by the residents of Llewellyn Park to offer to Mrs. Rosecrans, in their name and with their good wishes, this gift of flowers, to be a memorial of what must be ever dear to a true and loving wife—the honor in which her husband is held by his countrymen, for service to his country. Mingled with the fragrance of these flowers is an incense of remembrance, floating in upon all our minds, of Rich Mountain, of Corinth, of Iuka, of Murfressboro, of Chattanooga—fields whereon every flower has been crushed by the soldier's foot, except only the laurel that grows for the hero's head. I remember reading of a pleasant festival of mountaineers, where two mountains standing near together were united by a festooning cord stretched gaily between. And so to-night we whose feet are on Orange Mountain in New-Jersey, but whose thoughts are upon the distant mountains of Tennesee, now link them together with a chain of flowers (applause). This mountain of ours is clad to night with the beauty of moonlight, and with the greenness of peace; but perhaps those distant peaks in the West stand at this hour capped with battle smoke. If so be, may God grant, while here the wife is reaching out her hand to take flowers, the hand of her husband be lifted into that battle-cloud to pluck a thunderbolt like Jupiter's for vengeance upon the foe (applause). This odorous offering is a fore-token, I trust, of a day not far off when the same fields that are now blighted by war shall bloom as the garden of the land.

When victory shall come, bringing Freedom, and Freedom shall come bringing Peace—among the names that shall never be forgotten will be the honored name which you have blazoned in letters of shining light on yonder green arch. And now this gift—which is designed to show how dear this man is held by his countrymen—I leave in the hands of one who has the tender right to hold him dearer still (applause).

In accepting the gift in behalf of Mrs. Rosecrans, Mr. Hegeman said:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN of Llewellyn Park: My sister, Mrs. Rosecrans, desires to return to you her sincere thanks for the sympathy and kindness you have manifested for her in the presentation of this beautiful gift, so eloquently introduced by the remarks of Mr. Tilton.

Words are powerless, when the heart is so full, to give utterance to the various emotions that animate it; but I cannot do less than express the gratitude she feels for the interest manifested, and the high appreciation you have thus shown toward one who is so dear to her, and who is now endeavoring, in the risks and dangers of the battle-field, to serve his God and his country (applause).

To the General and the brave army of the Cumber land who have so nobly sustained him in his career, the intelligence of this act of personal sympathy will be cheering in their dangers and in their weary marches. In the name of General Rosecrans and his army I thank you again for this evidence of your high appreciation of their labors and sacrifices (applause.)

Three loud cheers for Gen. Rosecrans and his army were then called for and responded to.

The Rev. Geo. B. Bacon then followed in some appropriate and touching remarks, which received the applause of the company.

Refreshments were then served, and an hour was passed in pleasant social communion, before the lateness of the evening caused the company to disperse.—*N. Y. Tribune, Sept. 29.*

M. DE MONTHOLON'S ADDRESS TO NAPOLEON.—Amongst other projects the recognition of the Confederate States by France is still on the order of the day. The Emperor *is personally most strongly inclined* to take such a step. Nevertheless, some of the Ministers, but particularly M. de Morny, whose opinion has great weight with the Emperor, *are opposed to it.* M. de Montholon, who was recalled to France expressly to be consulted on the Mexican question, declares himself decidedly in favor of the recognition of the Southern States.

This diplomatist expressed himself as follows to the Emperor:

If, sire, you wish to create a permanent government in Mexico, *you must obtain some firm point d'appui,* and this the Southern States can alone afford you. *You must run the hazard of a war with the Northern States, which however the Northerners will endeavor to avoid.* But if you will not recognize the Southern States, you may renounce the idea of founding a throne in Mexico, *and give up the conquered kingdom to the Federal States on favorable conditions.* Mexico will rejoice in republican liberty under the flag of the United States. You, then, sire, will have the glory of having accomplished the mission of civilization in both hemispheres, and given a brilliant example of your disinterestedness, *but a new and durable kingdom you will not have created.—Paris* (*Sept.* 7) *Correspondence of the Botschafter, of Vienna.*

CHARLES SUMNER'S LATE SPEECH.—We have before us the speech of Charles Sumner, at the Cooper Institute, on the foreign relations of the United States. He is the Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations in the Yankee Senate, and what he says is, on that account, entitled to notice. The speech is the longest of which we have any account, except that of Benton against Kearney. It is three times as long as the 9th volume of *Napoleon's Memoirs,* which is a narrative of the "reign of one hundred days," beginning with the landing from Elba, and ending with the battle of Waterloo.

We are pleased to see that Sumner entertains very grave apprehensions of France and England on the score of recognition. We have merely dipped into the speech, but we can see that much. He abuses the South, of course, with all the virulence of a timid nature. But we ought not to blame him for that. It is a law of nature that a coward should be vindictive and abusive. Sumner is a most abject coward. God made him so, and we ought not to raise a voice against a work of God. He received from a Southern man the greatest of all personal indignities. No doubt if he had had the courage he would have resented it. But as nature denied him this, we cannot find fault with him for following the natural bent of all cowards, and falling to railing at a safe distance. We pity Sumner. He must be deeply sensible of his humiliation, and it is this that sharpens his temper. He is truly an object of commiseration—too cowardly to resent an indignity, and yet sensitive enough to feel it deeply.—*Richmond Dispatch.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1863.

PHILADELPHIA NOTICE.

FOR the sake of a more prompt delivery, and as a matter of general convenience, Philadelphia subscribers will—on and after the first week in October—be served with THE STANDARD by mail, instead of by carrier as heretofore. If in the meantime any should have directions to give in regard to their address, they will please send them to the Anti-Slavery Office, 106 North Tenth street, Philadelphia.

THE DISASTER AND ITS LESSONS.

THE sanguine hopes of the Nation have met with a dampening check. The career of victory in the Southwest which seemed to be going on conquering and to conquer has been stayed, for a season, at least. This, we fear, cannot be denied. We have had too many fallings back in good order and changes of base not to see through the veil they would throw over disaster. Still, it is but fair to say that there have been fewer of these subterfuges in the region of Grant and Rosecrans than nearer home. They have been chiefly confined to the Army of the Potomac. Up to the present time, victory seemed to have been as well organized by those Generals, in their departments, as defeat had been in his, by Gen. McClellan. A work which had been so thoroughly done that it was not until after two Generals had sunk under it, that a third could bring that army up to the glory of Gettysburg. And we must say, too, that there seems to be no disposition on the part of Gen. Rosecrans to disguise the real state of things and his actual condition. After barely holding his own for one day, he was forced to fall back to Chattanooga with the loss of ten thousand men and fifty pieces of artillery. And for this we have to be grateful, inasmuch as it appears that he narrowly escaped a much more disastrous defeat. Within those lines he esteemed himself safe at the last accounts and was awaiting reënforcements, which it is said have succeeded in reaching him. Opposed to him is a much larger force of the enemy, with greater facilities for reënforcements, from their holding the interior lines of communication. The military situation is certainly not desperate; but it cannot be denied that it is serious and critical.

Now, we do not propose to criticize or censure Gen. Rosecrans's "strategy"—if it be not a tacit censure to apply a word to his conduct which, like Bardolph's word "accommodate," "was an excellent good one until it was ill-sorted." He has done so well thus far that it is but fair to believe that his advance from Chattanooga was well advised from the point of view where he stood and in the light of the intelligence he possessed. Of course, he would not have made it, had he known the desperate effort of the rebels to concentrate a crushing force, sufficient to annihilate him first, and Burnside afterwards. Whether it were his fault or his misfortune that he was not better informed, we cannot say. But, at least, he was attempting a forward movement, following up a succession of such going before, which shows that his strategy was directed at the destruction of the rebels without even the suspicion that it was inspired by a secret sympathy for them. We do not believe that he will ever hold out his hat for the alms of his soldiers; but, if he should, we are sure he would be a more worthy object of them than another general who may, for all we know, resemble Belisarius in his poverty, but certainly not in his victories and conquests. If he committed an error, we are ready to believe him competent to repair it, if the means be afforded him—very probably with no more means than he has. And here we are sure that we express the sense of all loyal men at the North. The sympathizers with the rebellion will exaggerate the extent and effect of his reverse, and the stock-jobbers will do their best, or worst, to turn the misfortunes of their country to good account. But the real lovers of the true unity of the nation are willing to try him again, not because he has failed, as has been the case with some generals, but because he has never failed before.

Still, we think the nation will not accept this reverse as a mysterious dispensation of Providence, behind which it will not do to look. It will consider its causes, and how it might have been avoided by a different course on the part of somebody. The great fact is undeniable, that Gen. Rosecrans was outnumbered. The enemy had succeeded in massing more men at Chattanooga than he had to oppose to them. This was well done of them, for their purposes. It showed skill and activity on their part. But why was it that our General was overpowered by numbers? Simply because he had not been properly reënforced. There is an attempt to throw the blame of this default upon Gen. Burnside. Nobody knows enough of the facts to pronounce an intelligent opinion on this point. But, should it appear that he was behindhand in bringing up his forces to the rescue—which we shall be slow to believe, excepting on strong proof—we think that the real blame lies farther back yet. Whoever it may be that is responsible for the dilatory filling up of the *Corps d'Afrique* in the slave country, we apprehend, will have to bear the brunt of the blame. Last Winter, when the President was reminded of the approaching depletion of the army from the expiration of the term of service of the two years' and the nine months' men, he replied, that by that time—this last Summer—he would have two hundred thousand black troops to take their place. But the Summer is over, and the harvest is almost ended, and we are not saved, as we would have been had these hopes been fulfilled. With a hundred thousand such men as rushed into the jaws of death at Wagner, Rosecrans would have been invincible. That hundred thousand men he might have had, if the work had been begun and pushed on in earnest at the time the President spoke that word of cheer. But it was delayed until Vicksburg should have fallen—though it would puzzle a casuist to tell the connection of the two things. And Vicksburg would not fall for three months or so after the Department had decided that it should; so that, instead of two hundred thousand blacks in arms, at that critical juncture, there was but about forty thousand. This is now being amended and the recruiting going on admirably, so that we may hope that, this distress once over, we shall not suffer another disaster for want of men, which might have been had. This one, we imagine, cannot be taken out of that category.

As usual, this reverse is not without its instructions, and even its encouragements. First of all, it shows that the rebel armies are by no means so demoralized and disheartened as we at the North have been but too ready to believe on the report of deserters. The men who threw themselves upon our batteries, for two successive days, capturing but too many of them, and compelling the whole force to fall back, were not demoralized nor disheartened and were fully in earnest. It may be unpleasant to awake from the delusive dream that the rebellion was about to die a natural death, and to disappear by a simple process of decomposition; but it was the sleep of death from which we have been thus roughly aroused. The enemy is still strong in numbers, resolute in purpose, fierce in hatred, and must be met as such. For this purpose we must have men, and our main dependence must be upon the black men of the South to meet this necessity. And in the increased energy which the government must throw into this work we think we discern a certain advantage which will flow from this reverse. In the first place, they must abolish the mean and paltry distinction now made between the black and the white soldier. The first thing Congress should do, is the putting all men who are fighting the battles of the country on a perfect equality of pay and privileges. And, in the second place, we trust it will also have the grace given to it to lay the axe at the root of the whole matter, and abolish slavery everywhere as a military necessity indispensable to victory. Another circumstance of encouragement which this disaster has developed is the calmness with which the Northern public has encountered it. There has not only been no panic—there has been no depression. That public seems to have made up its mind that the rebels are generally and substantially beaten so thoroughly, that an episodical success of theirs does not disturb its equanimity. If this state of feeling lead to a general sense of the remaining strength of the rebellion, and as general a resolution of breaking it by the readiest, if not the only, means at hand—justice to the black soldier and freedom to the black race—we shall see that this last misfortune, like many that has gone before it, was but a blessing in disguise.

ARE OUR LIBERTIES IN DANGER?

ONE of the resolutions passed at the late Republican Convention, held in Worcester, Mass., Sept. 24th, reads as follows:

"Resolved, That this ancient Commonwealth, ever jealous for the rights and liberties guarantied to her citizens by her own Constitution and that of the United States, has no apprehension whatever that in a contest like this, between slavery and liberty, any of the rights of the citizen will be lost, or any of the old landmarks of personal freedom destroyed."

This declaration well expresses the confidence which the people of the North have in themselves, and in the stability of the republican institutions among which they have been reared. Its unanimous endorsement by the intelligent delegates to whom it was submitted, shows, no less than the State elections from California to Maine, that nothing is further from the American mind than the abandonment of the Democratic principle and form of government. It is true that war, even in self-defence, is despotism, and, from the military organization necessary to its prosecution, the natural foe of human equality. It is true that a republic which goes to war, however justly or unavoidably, abdicates for a time, and puts on the garb of monarchy, whose weapons it must wield. It is undeniable, also, that there are numerous examples in history of nations which have failed to recover their freedom thus temporarily shelved. But it is not correct to infer, in the absence of any precedent even tolerably paralleled, that the people of this country in the present century will either be enamored of a permanently despotic rule, or suffer themselves to be entrapped into and subjugated by it. Whatever our British friends may say of the failure of democracy in these United States, neither has the success of the rebellion forced us to echo their assertion which is also their desire, nor are we so obtuse as to admit that it is democracy which is on trial at all, but only the aristo-democratic amalgam of our fathers, for seventy years miscalled a Union. In addition, we may challenge adversary or critic to point to a single indication, on the part of any of the free States, of a wish to alter its style of government, or to withdraw from a Union in which the condition of remaining is participation in a bloody and exhaustive war. On the other hand, secession and the Confederacy were notoriously established either without an experiment of the popular will, or in flagrant contradiction of it when expressed.

Equally improbable is it, that what, with our eyes open, we have no desire to embrace, we may be blinded into accepting irretrievably, and learn too late that the ally whom we invited to the saddle refuses to dismount, and cannot be shaken off. Such a calamity may fall upon a country which supports a standing army divorced from citizenship, or, in common with its fellow-citizens, incapable of any part in the formation of the government. But (let Mr. Cushing be easy) the "man on horseback" is not for us. For, first, we have an army which has volunteered for a specific end, and that is just the preservation of the republic, on the issue of the right of the majority to rule at the national elections. Next, we have an army which thinks and reads, and knows precisely what militates for the enemy and what against him—that is, what favors the success of the despotic, and what of the democratic elements at war with each other. Then we have an army which votes, at least in great measure, and always, be it remarked, in the interest of liberty, not of slavery. Undoubtedly our soldiers have their favorite leaders—say, even, idols; but only as viewed in regard to their real or supposed efficiency against the common enemy, not when they would abuse their power for the destruction of free institutions. McClellan has certainly many partisans yet in the army of the Potomac, but that officer was egregiously mistaken who wrote home that the soldiers, on the first removal of their pet General, would have marched at his nod upon Washington itself. They would have done nothing of the kind. They knew that the country's foes were located at Richmond, and thitherward in fact they turned their faces. Let the spectators everywhere of our civil strife ponder this. The hope of the hereafter for the American Republic is in our soldiers as *citizens* not less than in their military capacity.

Massachusetts is not alone in the absence of all apprehension "that any of the rights of the citizen will be lost, or any of the old landmarks of personal freedom destroyed." The entire North is with her. Yet no one doubts that so long as the rebellion maintains itself, the danger of the triumph of its principles is grave and imminent; from that quarter the peril is real. Those who pretend to scent despotism in the government at Washington or in the acts of our Generals; those who cry out upon "arbitrary arrests," who weary liberty of speech by complaining that there is none, and who urge the liberty of the press in support of a rebellion and a system based on gags; they are the miscreants who not unreasonably alarm us with prophecies of tyranny enthroned at the Capital, and a reign of terror inaugurated for all the land. They it is who, for the sake of political power which they can expect only under the rule of slavery, instigate the degraded victims of foreign oppression to succor the perishing rebellion by domestic violence; and who furnish the shameful acts which the old world points to jeeringly and cries: Behold the fruits of popular government! Copperheads and tories will one day learn that democracy is not a failure, but that its triumph-hour is now. It will crush the conspiracy to erect a slave-empire over its ruins. It will disarm the fomentors of sedition in its midst. It will consolidate anew the Union of States upon the basis of universal freedom. Lastly, it will continue to fulfil its mission which is to convert the product of man-destroying governments of every nation, together with the rescued bondman in our own borders, into citizens fit to govern themselves and to respect the rights and liberties of others. N.

The following correspondence explains itself:

MR. SHAW'S LETTER.

Brig.-Gen. GILLMORE, *Commanding Department of the South.*

SIR: I take the liberty to address you because I am informed that efforts are to be made to recover the body of my son, Col. Shaw, of the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts regiment, which was buried at Fort Wagner. My object in writing is to say that such efforts are not authorized by me or any of my family, and that they are not approved by us. We hold that a soldier's most appropriate burial place is on the field where he has fallen. I shall, therefore, be much obliged, General, if, in case the matter is brought to your cognizance, you will forbid the desecration of my son's grave, and prevent the disturbance of his remains or of those buried with him.

With most earnest wishes for your success, I am, sir, with respect and esteem, your obedient servant,
FRANCIS GEORGE SHAW.

New York, Aug. 24, 1863.

GEN. GILLMORE'S REPLY.

HEADQUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE SOUTH,
MORRIS ISLAND, S. C., Sept. 5, 1863.

F. G. SHAW, *Esq., Clifton, Staten Island, N. Y.*

SIR: I have just received your letter expressing the disapprobation of yourself and family of any effort to recover the body of your son, the late Col. Shaw, of the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Volunteers, buried in Fort Wagner, and requesting me to forbid any desecration of his grave, or disturbance of his remains.

Had it been possible to obtain the body of Col. Shaw immediately after the battle in which he lost his life, I should have sent it to his friends, in deference to a sentiment which I know to be widely prevalent among the friends of those who fall in battle, although the practice is one to which my own judgment has never yielded assent.

The views expressed in your letter are so congenial to the truest instinct of a soldier as to command not only my cordial sympathy but my respect and admiration. Surely no resting place for your son could be found more fitting than the scene where his courage and devotion were so conspicuously displayed.

I beg to avail myself of this opportunity to express my deep sympathy for yourself and family in their great bereavement, and to assure you that on no authority less than your own shall your son's remains be disturbed.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
Q. A. GILLMORE, Brig.-Gen. Com.

The movement to erect a monument over Col. Shaw's remains in Fort Wagner is progressing favorably. The First South Carolina regiment has contributed for the purpose, about a thousand dollars, to which the colored people of Beaufort, in response to Gen. Saxton's appeal, have added three hundred dollars more. Other regiments will increase the amount to three or four thousand dollars.

PERSONAL.

A dispatch from Vicksburg, to the 21st inst. says that Gen. Grant is still improving, and will be able to leave his bed in a few days.

Confederate Generals that were returned dead "still live." Magruder wasn't slain by an injured husband, and Holmes didn't drink himself to death.

James C. Watson of Michigan claims to have discovered a new planet on the 15th. Its brilliancy was like a star of the tenth magnitude, and its motion indicated that it belonged between Mars and Jupiter.

Hear Gen. Grant: "I am not an Abolitionist, I was never an anti-slavery man, but I try to judge everything honestly and fairly. I am satisfied that the North and the South can never live together in peace except as one nation and that a free nation."

On Sunday last Gen. Meade and a number of other officers dined with John Minor Botts. He is living quietly on a recently purchased farm near Culpepper, Virginia.

The Boston *Traveller* of Monday says: "George Sumner, brother of the Senator, is on his death-bed in this city. His death will be a heavy loss to the world of letters."

"Timothy Titcomb" (Dr. J. G. Holland) has just completed, in the Springfield *Republican,* a series of moral essays entitled "Letters to the Joneses," which are to be collected and published in uniform style with his "Gold Foil."

The letter of Mr. Peter Cooper to Gov. Seymour, recently published in *The Evening Post,* is attracting much attention from the press as a clear and intelligent exhibition of the causes of the rebellion and the duty of the citizen in the present crisis.

The new French Consul at this port, M. Gauldrée-Boileau, is a brother-in-law of Gen. Fremont, he having been married to a daughter of the late Senator Benton. Some years ago he was Secretary of Legation under M. Sartiges, the French Minister, when he formed the acquaintance of Miss Benton.

Rev. Dr. Massie, the bearer of an address signed by four thousand British clergymen, expressive of sympathy with us in our present struggle, was to deliver his last address in America at Newark, New Jersey, on Friday evening. Dr. Massie sails for England this (Saturday) morning.

Some of the old men of England are in an excellent state of preservation. The Dean of Winchester, now in his eighty-eighth year, recently went from his rectory to London, where he baptized his great-grandchild, and returned home to dinner after a morning's journey of one hundred and fifty miles.

Mr. Slidell has been for a whole month at Biarritz, in order to be near the French Emperor. It was observed at a recent reception that the Empress sent for him and conversed with him for a considerable time. If Louis Napoleon were an American he would be a Southerner and slaveholder.

Brig.-Gen. Robert Anderson, U. S. A., has been ordered before the Army Retiring Board, and it is expected that he will be retired from active service, as, since the bombardment of Fort Sumter, in 1861, he has not been equal to the fatigue and excitement incidental to service in the field.

Trusten Polk, formerly United States Senator from Missouri, and his wife and two daughters, were made prisoners on the 11th inst., at Bolivar Landing, Arkansas. Polk held the rank of Colonel in the rebel army, and has been serving as Judge-Advocate-General under Holmes.

Charles Mathews's appearance on the Paris stage created a decided sensation in France. It is noticed by all the Paris journals—from *The Moniteur* downwards—as an event of great international importance, tending to "blend the nations" still more in harmony.

A pair of government shoes was last week made in Boston for a Norwegian, a man of gigantic proportions. The size is No. 20, and the measure as follows: Heel, 16 inches, ankle 12 inches, instep 12 inches, toes 11¾ inches. He is a color sergeant in an artillery regiment of the army, and is at present at Fort Hamilton, New York Harbor.

The Russian Admiral and officers were entertained at dinner on Monday evening at the Metropolitan Hotel by Mr. James B. Eads, a citizen of St. Louis. Speeches were made by Admiral Lipovsky, Admiral Farragut, Captain Boutakoff, Collector Barney, Gen. Walbridge, Hon. W. Wright, of Pennsylvania, and other gentlemen.

If Frank Pierce really wrote the letter to Jeff. Davis that is going the rounds, then Frank Pierce deserves to be hanged. The writer of the letter wished to get up a war in the North, in order to help the slaveholding interest establish its power over the whole country. We have seen no denial from Pierce or his friends that the letter was written by the ex-President.

John B. Sanborn has been appointed a Brigadier-General of Volunteers by the President, upon the recommendation of Gen. Grant. He was Colonel of the 4th Minnesota, which position he had just resigned. He commanded a brigade of Grant's army for more than a year, and took part in some of the severest battles in Mississippi. There are now two Major and three Brigadier-Generals in the service from Minnesota.

Dr. J. King, of Cincinnati, proposes that in each of our Northern States a central situation be selected for the erection of a large marble cenotaph, consisting of halls, rooms, etc., upon the walls of which shall be engraved the names, etc., of all the soldiers of the State who have fallen in the present war, both those of native and foreign birth, the particular plan of the cenotaph in each State to be designed by some good architect.

A marriage of a remarkable character took place at Alcaster parish church in England on the 5th of September. The bride, "Peggy Paine," found her way to church on crutches, and was met there by the bride groom, George Smith. Their united ages amounted to one hundred and thirty years. They were married in due form, and on leaving the church departed to their respective homes.

Queen Victoria's health is represented to be on the decline—but as she belongs to a tolerably long-lived race, we believe that thirty years hence it will be said of her that she "still lives." She would not be so old as her grandfather was when he died, should she live to see the first day of the twentieth century. To report the failure of the health of great personages is a not uncommon trick in European journals, which are much more given to news-coining than are those of America.

Francis J. Grund, widely known in Pennsylvania as a political writer of the "Democratic" school, and late Editor of *The Age,* has renounced the support of Judge Woodward for Governor, and gave last Monday evening at the headquarters of the Union League his reason for supporting Gov. Curtin and the Union ticket generally. That reason briefly is, the essential *disloyalty* of the Democratic organization as now constituted, and the peril to the Nation's life that its ascendency

would necessarily involve. Mr. Grund knows whereof he affirms, and it is not possible that his revelations should fail to make a deep impression on the public mind of the Keystone State.

Sam Houston is dead—again. This last death of his occurred on the 25th of July, at Huntsville, in Texas, according to the rebel journals. He had been fifty years before the world, and his life was a coarse romance. He was in a false position during his latter days, being at heart a Union man, both on principle and because he hated the leading rebels; and yet he had to support the disunion party, a fact that does not speak much in support of the position that there are many loyal men in the South.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, September 28th, 1863.

IT is very seldom that we, whose duty commonly requires sharp criticism of political parties and gatherings, can heartily rejoice and congratulate each other upon the result of a political meeting. But I think we may survey with unalloyed satisfaction both the process and the result of the Republican State Convention, recently held at Worcester, in this State.

There be various sorts of Republicans, as of Democrats. Excellent friends of ours existed in that party from the beginning, and their attempts to move it to active progress were made the occasion of taunting it with the epithet "abolition" long before it came so near deserving that name as at present. For a year past, however, its advance has been sure and steady, and not so very slow, "considering."

There were persons in the organization of the Convention, yes, even in the Committee for the preparation of resolutions, who would greatly have preferred to limit the expression of sentiment to general terms of approbation of the war, and support of the Executive in maintaining it. But the preponderance of more discerning men was such, and the recognition of a "military necessity" for striking at the foundation of the rebellion rather than at its superstructure was so pervading, that the published reports of the Convention show but one expression of the retarding force alluded to, and even this not in a resolution, but a speech. That eminent conservative, Hon. Richard H. Dana, Jr., hoped that none but free States, "or States *in process* of emancipation" would be returned to exercise the functions of States in the Union. The other speakers in their addresses, and the Convention in its resolutions, showed a strong determination that the process of emancipation should be completed before the readmission of any seceding State.

The series of resolutions, understood to have been written by ex-Gov. Boutwell, was very strong and very good. Even if their main statements lack something of that thoroughness which Parker Pillsbury would have given them, their incidental expressions cover the whole ground which the Republican party should cover, in regard to universal freedom. The resolutions recognize our present contest as one between slavery and liberty; they declare that the Proclamation was indispensable, and must be maintained inviolate; they recognize slavery as the sole cause of the revolt, and affirm its existence to be wholly incompatible, both with permanent peace in the Union and with that republican form of government which the Constitution provides for; they therefore maintain it to be the duty of Congress and the Executive to insist that a practical extinguishment of slavery throughout the rebel Confederacy shall follow as fast as possible upon its legal and official death; they claim that the restored nation should be a union of free States; and they declare, not only that the policy of employing colored soldiers is wise and just, but that it should be enlarged and liberalized by putting such soldiers on a perfect equality with whites as to rights and compensation while in the service.

That sentiments like these were received with enthusiastic demonstrations of approval, and unanimously adopted by so large a Convention as the ground henceforth to be maintained by the Republican party in this State, is cheering indeed. The expressions of individual speakers were equally significant. Gov. Boutwell said that no seceding State should be restored to the Union until it is ready to ask admission as a free State, and that, until that time, each should be held under effective control by the General government. The President of the Convention, Hon. T. D. Eliot, of New Bedford, declared his firm conviction that permanent peace can be insured to us by nothing less than a decree that no slave can stand upon our soil, or breathe the air that lifts upward our stars and stripes; and his fervent aspiration was that the President might have faith to make a second *completed* proclamation. Even Senator Wilson, usually more concerned to vindicate what the government has already done than to stimulate it to further progress, declared that the President ought to do more instead of less in the way of military arrests, and to lay a stern hand on the prominent Northern allies of Southern treason. And, best of all, through all the proceedings of the Convention, the strongest expressions in regard to our duties in the direction of freedom were most earnestly applauded. In view of such facts as these, we may indeed thank God and take courage.

What proportional part has been taken in the Anti-Slavery reform by the Ecclesiastical organizations, the clergy and the Churches, is a disputed question. The proceedings of two ecclesiastical bodies, whose annual meetings were held a little before the session of the political Convention just referred to, may throw some light upon that matter. I refer to the General Association of Massachusetts and the General Conference of Massachusetts. The first of these bodies is entirely clerical, the second composed nearly equally of clergymen and laymen, and both represent the Orthodox Congregational denomination. This sect would claim, no doubt, to be as far advanced in its love of freedom as any one in the State. Its principal newspaper organ is *The Congregationalist*, which would claim, no doubt, to be as forward in opposition to slavery as any "religious" paper in the State. Its extended reports, therefore, of the two meetings referred to, may be expected fairly to state whatever vigor or fervor of expression upon the subject actually found place in their proceedings.

The General Association, composed entirely of Orthodox Congregational ministers, met in North Middleboro, in the latter part of June last. Among the parts of its proceedings specially suitable for notice of the subject of slavery, were the addresses on "The individual responsibility of Christians at this time"—the Report of "The Christian Commission"—"The Pastoral Letter" (which in former times has often been used to oppose Anti-Slavery)—and the resolutions on "The State of the Country." Strange to say, not one of these made any reference to slavery whatever; and the only notice taken of it in the proceedings of the Association was the complaint of one member that that subject had been "left out," and the request of the Moderator thereupon, that one of the reverends would lead the audience "in prayer for the slave."

The General Conference, composed in part of laymen, met at Worcester early in the present month. One resolution in the series adopted by it on "The State of the Country" asserted—"That time and events have justified the policy of the Emancipation proclamation, as we trust it has contributed to the continuance of our peaceful international relations, as it has added breadth to the moral basis for continuing the war in which we have been involved by this wicked rebellion, and also as it cripples the energies of our enemies, while it adds a vast force to our government, and that we rejoice in the firmness of the President in adhering to this righteous policy."

The whole notice taken by the General Conference of Massachusetts of the immensely important subjects of slavery and emancipation—at a time, too, when the nation is convulsed by the efforts of two parties striving, one for the former, the other for the latter—had this extent, no more.

We have often had occasion to say that the people at large were in advance of the Church, both in their recognition of slavery as a sin and an evil, and in their manifestation of readiness to repent of the sin and apply remedies to the evil. But the facts above mentioned tend to show, further, that even the political associations are in advance of the ecclesiastical ones on this point.

Is it not passing strange that while an association based on political expediency, and owning no higher rule, feels compelled by the very interests of that political expediency, to assail an enormous vice existing in the body politic, another association, assuming to be based on love of right and hatred of wrong, should be as careful as possible to leave this vice untouched?

Many of the actors in the Worcester Convention are members, no doubt, of the Orthodox Congregational Church. How comes the action of these two bodies to be so different in regard to a matter of right and wrong, like slavery? Can the reason be that the former stimulates, and that the latter represses, any individual inclination of its members to oppose and destroy a vice like slavery?

On Saturday evening last, a performance was given at the Boston Theatre for the benefit of the Sanitary Commission. The part of Lady Macbeth was performed by Miss Charlotte Cushman in her accustomed admirable manner, and was witnessed by a very large and highly appreciative audience. It is said that she is to personate the same character, for the same excellent purpose, in your city, and also in Baltimore.

Speaking of the theatre naturally reminds me of another principal source of amusement in this city, the Boston *Post*. Its good spirits have noticeably failed of late. Since the Worcester Convention it has become lugubrious, almost lachrymose. This morning's issue, treating of "Radical Conditions of Peace," pathetically implores a relaxation of the severity with which the rebels are now treated. It asks, with all the impressiveness that *italics* can give. Whether the North desire to press a *whole people* to the wall in the way proposed by Sumner, and Gratz Brown and Whiting, and Wilson, and Boutwell? It assures us that, if they are to be thus pressed, *they will all die together, with their slaves and their little ones, fighting with a desperation which the world has never witnessed*." And it implores, apparently addressing society in general—"In the name of all that is dear to country, stretch forth a helping hand to stay the plague of the abolition extremists."

A correspondent of the same paper, ——— ———, Esq., addresses, through its columns, a letter to President Lincoln on the same engrossing topic. He is very anxious to know definitely, on behalf of the rebels, *on what terms* they may have peace; and more particularly whether, to gain that much-needed blessing, they must surrender their form of civilization itself"—meaning, apparently, their form of barbarism. The questions he asks, having all been answered in advance by the President's communication to the Springfield Convention, are entirely destitute of pertinence, and indeed the whole letter may properly be styled im-pertinent. NORTH.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 28, 1863.

GOV. ANDREW has been here and gone back to Boston. His errand here was generally known—it was to induce the President, if possible, to take a more determined stand in behalf of the colored soldiers captured by the enemy, as well as the white officers commanding colored troops. The degree of success which attended the efforts of Gov. Andrew is as yet a secret, I believe, but I fear that he did not induce the President to change his position. One reason, and the principal one, why Mr. Lincoln refuses to change his position is because he is thoroughly convinced that he is right. I do not believe that he ever said, as a New York morning journal reports him as saying, that the white officers who command colored troops knew what risks they ran when they accepted their commands and now they must not complain. This is a base argument against their claims upon the government, and it is unlike Mr. Lincoln to make use of it. The only question with him was whether the exchange of troops should entirely stop or not. He finally came to the conclusion that for every negro soldier of ours who is imprisoned by the rebels we will imprison one of their white ones. If they execute one of our colored soldiers, we will execute one of their white ones—and with this determination let the matter stop. If the rebels will allow the general exchange to go on under such conditions, the President has no idea of stopping it. Very likely the President is right. Gov. Andrew came, as in duty bound, to do all he could for the colored men from his State who are now in the hands of the barbarous South Carolinians. And by the way it strikes me that the Governor has not had sufficient credit from the people of the whole country for his exhausting labors for the good of the cause. Massachusetts appreciates his services, but do the people of other States? When the history of the war comes to be written it will be found that few men in the land have labored so earnestly and so perseveringly to forward the war and the cause with which it is so intimately connected as Gov. Andrew. And especially will it be found that the colored race owes almost everything to his faithful care over their interests.

The President is not in his prejudices inclined to be fair to the colored man, as a colored man. But he is fair and generous and has a conscience. *He means to do right.* The war has educated his conscience. He has lost nearly all his old-fashioned Illinois prejudices against the negro. It is pretty hard to blame any man who has lived twenty years in Illinois for having this prejudice. Fifteen years since and Horace Greeley was not without it. It is sufficient that the President is losing all his prejudices against the race. At the present time he seems to be ready to do his duty on this great question of Emancipation so far as he understands it. It takes him a good deal of time to get at the merits of a disputed question. In Missouri he seems to have blundered into the arms of a wrong-headed man. It seems rather hard that the Republicans in Missouri who were his only friends a short time ago should now have to give way to the enemies of Mr. Lincoln. It is a bitter pill for them to swallow, but for the present they have nothing else before them. The President will see his error ere long. In Kansas the Radicals have acted badly in some respects. Perhaps it would be better to say that some of their leaders are corrupt, bad men, and have mismanaged their case. Senator Jim Lane is here now to plead the cause of Kansas with the President. Now Mr. Lane may be well enough in his way, but he is the last man to have weight with Mr. Lincoln upon such a subject. The President has got an idea in his head that the Radicals of Missouri and Kansas are dangerous men, and it will take some experience with his Conservative friends to convince him to the contrary. A friend of mine just from Missouri assures me that nearly all the "conservative" friends of Mr. Lincoln out there—the men who support Gov. Gamble and Gen. Schofield—are secret sympathizers with the rebellion. They condemn severely the President's notions respecting military emancipation. They are just like the men who have been elected to Congress from Kentucky—Union men and Slavery men. I should except Mr. Anderson and Mr. Clay of Kentucky. I think they will stand straight up in favor of the war policy of the President, even in reference to slavery.

There is no occasion for anxiety respecting the President's position on matters in Missouri and Kansas—he will soon open his eyes and will do right. You will have observed that Mr. Lincoln is pretty sure of coming out right at last on all important subjects. He aims to do right and he will not fail of it in this case.

Mr. Stanton's idea of appropriating $300 bounty money towards buying up slaves in the Border States is a fine one. Is it Mr. Stanton's idea? It is so quoted here. The government pays the master $300, and to the slave it says, "Now, if you will fight for the government three years, or to the end of the war, you shall have your freedom!" It is worthy of the paternity—the idea—of Gen. Butler. The main reliance of the government now seems to be colored troops. I notice that drafted colored men in this city find no difficulty whatever in obtaining substitutes, while white men have just about got through with that business. The drafted ones pay the $300, commutation money, substitutes are so scarce.

The disaster to Rosecrans's army compels the government to bestir itself in many ways. In the first place, it must remodel the Fall campaign. In the next, it must go to work and get more soldiers. I hear that Mr. Lincoln says he must have two hundred thousand more troops. If this be so how is he to get them? The draft obtains soldiers very slowly, and in many of the States volunteering is at an end. It cannot be made to work in the New England States, however it may be in the Western and Middle States. The colored army is increasing, but it will not do to leave the entire work of suppressing the revolution to colored men. It would be as mean as it is unfair. Another draft will be made, I predict, and the next time the government surgeons will not be permitted to reject five-sixths of the men drafted. Nearly six hundred thousand men were drafted in the first draft and scarcely one in six have been accepted. This is foolish. We will suppose that the first draft netts to the government one hundred thousand men. The second will nett two hundred thousand, making in all three hundred thousand. Such an addition would answer very well, for it would give the government an army six or seven hundred thousand strong—at least two hundred thousand stronger than the enemy. It is calculated by those who are good judges that not over one hundred thousand men will leave the army next Summer and Fall by reason of the expiration of their time, and this would leave the government a very respectable army one year from now. It is to be hoped that our troops will win victories this very Autumn, which will render the prosecution of the war unnecessary after next Spring. But in war all things are uncertain, and the government must be provided against all contingencies. Now is the time to raise soldiers rather than next year, with a Presidential election on hand, and the President must fully understand that fact. If we are to have more soldiers they must be obtained now. AVON.

OBITUARY.

DIED, at Union Village, Washington Co., N. Y., Sept. 12th, LEONARD GIBBS, Esq., aged sixty-three years. He was the son of Dr. Gibbs of Granville, was educated a lawyer, and for a number of years practiced his profession in his native town. In the early days of his profession, he was appointed District Attorney for the County, in which office he continued a number of years, and was once elected to the Legislature of the State. He never disappointed his friends, but filled every place to which he was called to the satisfaction of all and with credit to himself.

In the year 1839 he removed to the city of New York, and there continued the practice of law until he retired from business and came to this village, where he continued to reside until his death. He had many excellent traits of character, too many to dwell upon in this obituary sketch. It is sufficient to say he lived and died an *honest man*; too honest to practice law without much discrimination; too honest to be an office-seeking politician; but honest enough to be an executor for the dead, and a guardian for orphan children, as his books will soon show.

For more than twenty years he has been an earnest and able advocate of liberty. A short time before his death he gave directions for the conducting of his funeral, and requested that no eulogy upon him be attempted by any one; and said "A man's life and character was the only true eulogy"; but that an opportunity be given any earnest lover of the slave to speak on that subject; thus showing that in death he did not forget the oppressed. For a number of years he had suffered from a disease of his chest, and for many months had unmistakable symptoms of a heart disease, and being of a highly nervous temperament, it was hoped and believed to be only functional, but his last moments were as if it had been organic, terminating in a rupture of the heart, or of some large blood vessel near it. He had long been a professor of religion, and for fifteen years had been a member of the Orthodox Congregational Church in Union Village. At his death he looked back upon life with gratitude, and forward to eternity with hope. He left a wife and two daughters to mourn his loss, and a large circle of friends and acquaintances to lament his death. COM.

CRIES OF THE WOUNDED.—Here is the testimony of the Editor of a hunker newspaper in Massachusetts, the Newburyport *Herald*:

WENDELL PHILLIPS'S SPEECHES have just been issued from the press, by "Redpath" of Boston. Phillips has led in the path of reform for a quarter of a century, and his voice has been that of one "crying in the wilderness." He was the foreteller of this day which we have lived to see; but whether he will be able to keep pace with the revolution he set in motion, is uncertain. There is a rush of new converts to whom his words, fiery and fanatical but yesterday, are getting tame now. Phillips was never a non-resistant even in theory, and the blows from his flashing blade have often opened the flesh of hunkerism to the bone. Few heard him once; but now many will read him, for his ideas are the popular ones of the day, and he holds the ear of the nation, and his audience embraces continents. Garrison and Phillips have been among the most successful reformers the world has ever known.

Chronicles of the War.

Latest News in Brief.

The correspondent of the Cincinnati *Commercial* gives a less gloomy account of the battles in Georgia than that by other correspondents. He states that our loss in artillery and baggage is greatly exaggerated; that all our divisions fought well; that the army was drawn up around Rossville on Monday in good order, awaiting an attack, but that the enemy declining to offer battle, we fell back and took up a strong position around Chattanooga; that our soldiers are in good spirits and that there is no lack of guns, ammunition, or provisions.

"Situated as Rosecrans is," says the Richmond *Whig*, "the victory that does not disperse or capture his whole army, is a lost opportunity. If he is permitted to hold Chattanooga, then our victory will be without profit, and we have only to mourn that so many brave men have died in vain, and chiefly that the gallant Hood has sealed his faith with his blood. Rosecrans must not only be beaten in battle, but he must be destroyed or driven from East Tennessee, otherwise the battle might as well not have been fought. If this stronghold is not wrenched from him now, it will hardly be hereafter. If he holds it, he holds a *point d'appui*, from which he may at any moment strike at the very vitals of the Confederacy. He holds a region pestilent with disaffection, that needs only the presence of a Yankee army to ripen into full blown treason. He holds the country that must supply meat for our army, nitre for our powder mills, and coal and iron for many of our manufacturing establishments. The possession of that country is of indispensable necessity to us. It is the prize for which Bragg is contending. Until he has won it we can but rejoice with fear and trembling over what he has done. Should he win, it will be the superbest achievement of the war."

Some idea of the length of time required to reënforce Gen. Rosecrans from Vicksburg, may be obtained by considering the distance between that city and Chattanooga. First, there are 347 miles of steamboating to Memphis, and next, by railroad from Memphis to Chattanooga, is a distance of 309 miles. But the road is not open all the way. Trains run regularly to Corinth and Julia, the latter 115 miles, and it is not unlikely that the road may have been opened to Decatur, 70 miles further East. There should, too, be railroad communication between Stevenson and Chattanooga, by means of the Nashville and Central road, the distance between these two places being 37 miles. But we can hardly reckon on more than, say, 200 miles, if so much, of railroad transportation between Memphis and Chattanooga. The transfer of troops began several days ago, even before there had been any battle between Rosecrans and Bragg.

The Army and the Negroes.

EVERYWHERE THE AMERICAN GENERAL RECEIVES HIS MOST USEFUL AND RELIABLE INFORMATION FROM THE NEGRO, *who hails his coming as the harbinger of Freedom.*"—*Wm. H. Seward's Official Dispatch to Mr. Adams.*

THE NEGROES ON ROANOKE ISLAND.

ROANOKE ISLAND, Sept. 5, 1863.

Having just finished a two days inspection of matters here, I am happy to report progress in regard to our operations. The colony is fairly on its feet.

There are from eleven to twelve hundred negroes now on the Island. They have come here from Plymouth, Elizabeth City, Newbern, and from the country around these and other points. For the present they are living in close quarters, too much huddled together in barracks, formerly occupied by soldiers. But a large tract of well-wooded land has been laid off in streets running at right angles, and upon these streets lots of nearly an acre (40,000 ft.) have been assigned to the various families desiring them. We have already staked out the outlines of an African village of grand proportions. It would gratify their friends at the North could they see the energy and zeal with which the freedmen enter upon the work of clearing up their little acre of land, by cutting the timber upon it, and preparing it for their rude log-house. They are so animated by the prospect of a homestead of their own, and the little comforts of a freehold, that they labor every spare moment by night as well as by day, and are as happy as larks in their toil. Let the unbeliever declare that the negro does not desire his freedom, and has no wish to secure the privilege of owning personal property, and real estate. The axes which I sent on a month ago, and which are now ringing merrily in the green woods of Roanoke give the lie direct to all their reasonings, and falsify all their assertions. So do the singing voices of these happy men and women, who now really believe that they have powerful friends, and ask nothing more than a decent chance to make themselves wholly independent of government aid, and be thrifty, wealthy citizens.

Well were it if our steam engine were even now ready to saw out the boards for their dwellings. But it cannot be got to work for months yet, and meanwhile these people must be contented with ruder structures for the present Winter. They are contented, and more than this, and are developing an energy and vitality which is highly encouraging. We can already see the smiling cottages of virtuous and industrious people clustering along the straight streets which the woodman's axe has opened through these before unbroken forests, and which will be the future glory of this noted island. I am surprised to find it so healthy here. Of the troops garrisoning the three forts only sixteen are ill enough to be off duty, and only one is dangerously sick. The breezes are strong and pure from the sea, and our teachers can begin here as soon as they can get transportation hither. On the whole the island smiles, the prospects are bright, the work advances.

We are beginning in the very wilderness, to lay the foundations of a new empire, but the results when carried out to their proper results no mortal mind can foresee. We sow in faith, and expect to reap in joy.

I shall next address you from Newbern, between which place and this my communications will be frequent for a while. Yours truly, H. J.

—*Cor. Congregationalist.*

CRUELTY TO SLAVES.

A letter from Natchez, Aug. 23d, gives an account of a raid from that place through the central part of the State and south nearly to the Louisiana line, a distance of one hundred and thirty miles. We quote:

"In all the route we saw but two fields of cotton—every other cultivated piece of land was waving with rice or corn, and, as the planters themselves said: 'The Lord knows how it is to be gathered,' for from every plantation a caravan has set out with their faces towards Natchez and liberty; and hardly one is left, in many cases, to wait upon the household. I cannot begin to describe the intense hatred the rebels seem to have against their slaves. I have known several instances where they have shot them down like dogs, and on one lonely plantation we found a poor fellow with bonds of iron around his ankles weighing at least twenty pounds, and, wearing these, he was compelled to work in the field and keep up his row. He came along with us, and after filing for two days the boys got the irons off for him. We 'opened the prison doors' at Liberty and Woodville, and practically 'let the oppressed go free.' Some half dozen slaves were confined in both jails, most of them not for committing any crime, but because they were claimed by no master, and according to the laws of Mississippi they must be kept in confinement for six months and then sold to the highest bidder; the money to go to the County poor. One that we had released told me that he had been in for five months; that he had accompanied his master to Vicksburg, where he was killed three days after his arrival. In a few weeks he started back to his old home, but there being no one to claim him, he was placed in jail to await sale, 'when the good Lord sent us to deliver him.'"

FRAUDS ON OUR COLORED SOLDIERS.

From The Leavenworth Conservative.

We have been greatly pained by reports which reach us of wholesale swindling on the soldiers of the 1st Colored Regiment. These reports come through channels that compel belief. The operations cover at least $10,000 of the hard-earned pittance of the negro soldiers.

As is well known, Paymaster D. M. Adams lately paid this regiment the amounts due the men from the 13th of January till the 31st of June. They were paid at the rate of $10 per month, and amounts due each soldier averaged $50. By far the large majority are single men, or those whose families are removed from them by the processes of slavery. Nearly all of them were anxious to save something of their pay.

One man, Captain of a company, has received from the men of his command a large amount of money, reaching to several thousand dollars. This he has obtained under promise of depositing it in a certain bank in this city, which bank has no existence. He has given no acknowledgment or receipt to any one of these men, and neither they or their families can obtain a dollar should the officer be dishonest enough to hold it. At any rate he obtains the use of the men's money without interest or receipt, and if in any engagement his depositors be killed, no one but said officer controls their small assets. Rather a shrewd, if not dishonest move.

It is farther reported, as an illustration of the motive of the pseudo-banker, that he borrowed $56 from a sergeant in the company. When the sergeant, becoming alarmed for the return of his money, asked his Captain for a note for $50, he was refused, and shortly afterwards found himself reduced to the ranks on some frivolous charge. Since then he has been afraid to ask for his money, or an acknowledgment.

Another officer, a Lieutenant, it appears, borrowed sums of $10 to $25, to the amount of $1,070, deposited the same with Paymaster Adams, resigned his commission and immediately left for home. His loans had been obtained under promise of immediate payment. When he left, the negroes became alarmed, and finding the money was deposited with Major Adams, waited in a body upon Gen. Blunt and made their statement. The General issued an order to Major Adams not to pay over said money, and at the same time sent to Department Headquarters a request not to have the resignation accepted. He intends to court-martial the Lieutenant on the charge of embezzlement.

There are other parties charged with the same transactions. One of the staff officers is reported to have obtained a large amount.

This is a very grave and serious matter, and demands an immediate investigation. We call upon Gen. Blunt and Col. Williams to thoroughly ventilate these transactions. It is the meanest and vilest fraud we have heard of lately.

There is another matter connected with the payment of this regiment, to which we desire to call the attention of the authorities. The payments made only cover that period from the 13th of January, on which day the regiment was mustered, as such, into the United States service. Nine-tenths of the men had been enrolled and doing duty since early in August '61, a period of five months. For this time the negroes have received no pay. The War Department provides that enlisted men should be paid from date of enrollment. This would have been done in the case of the First Colored, but from the fact that when the muster rolls were made out, Major Weed, Assistant Adjutant-General for the District of Kansas, directed that no dates prior to the 13th of January, be recorded. The reason given was that the men would be paid as laborers on roll, then in St. Louis, and approved by Gen. Curtis. They have never been paid, nor have the officers, except those detailed from other regiments, received a dime for that period. We call the attention of our congressional delegation to this injustice—especially Gen. Lane—and ask that they present the case to the War Department, that the wrong may be righted.

CORRECTION.—In our editorial (printed above) a statement was made that Major Weed directed the rolls of the First Colored to be dated from the 13th of January, the day of muster. We were in error in this statement. The instructions sent by Major Weed to the commanding officer of the First Colored, were exact copies of the order of Gen. Curtis, directing its muster as infantry from the first of January, the day of the President's proclamation of Emancipation. If the rolls were otherwise dated, it must have been from a misapprehension on the part of the commanding or company officers.

COLORED TROOPS.

The numerical strength of the colored regiments actually in the field is somewhat over 20,000 men—less than has been generally supposed. This number does not include colored men who have been regularly enlisted in the service and now employed as teamsters and in various other capacities by the government. The number so employed is about 25,000. The skeleton regiments scattered throughout the country (principally in the Southwest) are being rapidly recruited to their maximum standard, and before the end of the year it is estimated that the government will have 80,000 negro soldiers in the field. It is the opinion of eminent military men here that colored regiments will form the basis of our future armies, and that the government will have to rely mainly on colored troops to finish up the rebellion.—*N. Y. Times.*

MULTITUDES OF PEOPLE REQUIRE AN ALTERATIVE, to restore the healthy action of their systems and correct the derangements that creep into it. Sarsaparillas were used and valued, until several impositions were palmed off upon the public under this name. AYER'S SARSAPARILLA is no imposition.

Summary.

The internal tax in Massachusetts will result in the collection of $8,325,000.

Fifteen thousand of the Corps d'Afrique, under Gen. Banks, have been mustered in, and recruiting is active. The maximum strength is 25,000.

The Secretary of War directs that colored volunteers from New Jersey and Delaware be mustered into the regiments forming at Philadelphia, credit being given therefor to those States respectively.

The Steamer Blackstone brings 137 non-commissioned officers and privates from Morris Island, specially furloughed by order of Gen. Gillmore for bravery in the trenches and attack on Fort Wagner.

The Massachusetts Republican Convention, which met at Worcester on Thursday, nominated Gov. Andrew and all the other present State officers for reëlection. The Convention was most harmonious and enthusiastic.

The Fair of The American Institute, which has been well attended from the start, closed its exhibition at the Academy of Music on Friday evening. Gold and silver medals were presented, and the winning competitors for the premiums packed up their articles and went their ways rejoicing.

From the New Orleans *Era* of September 17 we learn that the blockade runners Fox, Alabama and Montgomery were all captured on the 12th inst., by our cruisers, in the vicinity of Ship Island. These prizes are all valuable. The Montgomery was captured by the gunboat De Soto, and the Tennessee was conspicuous in the capture of the others.

Admiral Farragut had a semi-public reception on Thursday afternoon, at the Chamber of Commerce in this city. There were no special formalities, but impromptu speeches were made by Chas. H. Marshall, Chas. Gould, Prof. Leiber, Peter Cooper, Prosper M. Wetmore, Jonathan Sturgis, David Leavitt and the gallant Admiral himself.

Mrs. Swisshelm writes from a Washington hospital: "Hon. Mrs. John Potter and Mrs. Senator Pomeroy both died, since I came to Washington, of fever contracted in hospitals. Mrs. Gangewer, of the Ohio Relief, who has been aiding me from the first, in distributing, is now ill with typhoid fever."

SUMNER'S ORATION.—The President of the United States has made a request that the first copy of the large type edition may be sent to him. The Secretary of State has expressed the opinion that Mr. Sumner, by his speech, has "performed a great public service," and *has arranged for sending copies to the United States diplomatic and commercial representatives abroad.—Evening Post of September* 24, 1863.

A teacher of contrabands at Newbern declares the following to be the creed of the negroes in that vicinity: 1st. They believe in "de good Lord," who has heard their prayers. 2d. In Abraham Lincoln, who has broken their chains. 3d. In Massachusetts and everything that comes from it.

A CUD FOR JOHN BULL TO CHEW.—"We are at war with the New Zealanders. We for empire—they for independence. What if President Lincoln recognizes their belligerent rights?—and what if New York capitalists take a New Zealand loan—and if an American Laird furnishes a New Zealand Alabama, to be commissioned by a Maori lieutenant and manned by British seamen from the naval reserve, and so on? Why not? and what then?—*London Daily News.*

Experiments of an interesting character are being made near the Washington navy yard with Rodman's 15-inch gun. The piece weighs nearly 40 tons, and throws a ball weighing 400 pounds. Although the gun has been fired 800 times, with charges of powder varying from 30 to 60 pounds, it is apparently in as good condition as when the first round was fired. At a distance of several hundred feet the 400 pound missile is driven into a solid clay bank from seven to twelve feet, according to the charge of powder used.

Capts. Sawyer and Flinn, the officers whom Jeff. Davis threatened to hang in retaliation for the execution by Gen. Burnside of two rebel officers found within his lines, have been heard of recently. A young officer, who was lately released from Libby prison, says that they are confined in a sort of cage, measuring somewhere about 6 feet by 8. This den, which is filthy and horrible, is lighted and ventilated only by a hole in the top, through which their food is let down. The natural presumption is, that they are to be tortured to death in this way.

On Wednesday last a train arrived from Frankfort at Louisville, Ky., containing 1,162 rebel prisoners, a part of those captured at Cumberland Gap by Gen. Burnside at the time of the surrender of that place. The prisoners were a very common-looking set of fellows, and were dressed in every costume conceivable. The remainder, nearly 1,300 in number, were to arrive on Saturday, and be sent forward to Camp Douglas. The prisoners arrived represented four regiments from Virginia, Georgia, North Carolina and Tennessee.

REASONABLE EXPLANATION.—One or two gentlemen recently conversing about the Natural Bridge of Virginia, remarked that there was an extraordinary incident connected with it, for that Gen. Washington once threw a dollar completely over it, an achievement which has not been performed since.

"No wonder," replied his companion, "for a dollar in those days could be made to go a great deal farther than at the present time."

OLD BUT GOOD.—An infirm old gentleman was found by a rogue moaning sadly for something lost. "What is the matter, sir?" said the fellow. "Oh, sir, a villain has just stole my gold-laced hat from my head, and ran away with it." "Why don't you run after him?" asked the rogue. "Bless your heart, sir, I can't run at all; I can hardly walk." "The deuce you can't," said the rogue; "and he stole your hat?" "Yes, he did, sir." "And you can't run?" "Not I." "Nor catch him?" "No." "Then here goes for your wig!" and accordingly, pulling off the thatch from his head, the fellow went off like a shot from a skillet, and the old gentleman was left as bald as a coot.

The Russian steam-frigate, Alexander Newsky, Capt. Federousky, from Cronstadt, via Long Island Sound, fifty-five days, arrived above Hell Gate on Thursday morning. She is the flag ship of Rear Admiral Lessousky, is of 800 horse power, and mounts 51 guns. The Russian steam-frigate Presviet, Capt. Koryttoff, from Cronstadt, via Long Island Sound, fifty-five days, also arrived. The Previet is of 450 horse power, and mounts 46 guns. The corvette Varing, Capt. Lund, mounting 16 guns, with engines of 360 horse power; the corvette Vitcase, Capt. Kremer of 16 guns and 300 horse power; the clipper Almos, Capt. Selenoy, 9 guns and 360 horse power; the clipper Isoumvound of 9 guns and 360 horse power, and the clipper Jahont, 9 guns and 360 horse power, are expected here. The frigate Osliaba, Capt. Bontakoff, is now in port.

Canalization does not proceed well in Egypt, and the Isthmus of Suez seems likely to out-last Emperor Napoleon and his dynasty, strong as is the imperial desire to cut through it. England is opposed to France's project, and the Sultan of Turkey cannot get them to agree upon anything; and so he proposes pursuing a course that favors England, but it is thought that the gentleman at Paris may get him to change his mind. The Emperor is assumed to mean that the canal shall be made, and in England the determination is quite as strong that it shall not be made. The contest may lead to the substitution of the sword for the spade, though it would be unsafe to count upon war as one of the consequences of the quarrel. But if the two countries shall keep up a dispute concerning the canal, so much the better for us, whose interest it is to have England and France anything but kindly disposed toward each other in these times. We love peace, but we wish that half a dozen wars might spring up in Europe in six weeks—or "sixty days."

PRESIDENT LINCOLN ON SHAKSPEARE.—For one of my age, I have seen very little of the drama. The first presentation of Falstaff I ever saw was yours here last Winter or Spring. Perhaps the best compliment I can pay is to say, as I truly can, I am very anxious to see it again. Some of Shakspeare's plays I have never read, whilst others I have gone over perhaps as frequently as any unprofessional reader. Among the latter are "Lear," "Richard Third," "Henry Eighth," "Hamlet," and especially "Macbeth." I think none equals "Macbeth." It is wonderful. Unlike you gentlemen of the profession, I think the soliloquy in "Hamlet," commencing, "O, my offense is rank," surpasses that commencing, "To be or not to be." But pardon this small attempt at criticism. I should like to hear you pronounce the opening speech of "Richard the Third."—*Private letter to Hackett, the actor.*

THE WEALTH OF MEXICO.—The N. O. *Picayune* says that in Mexico there are over one thousand silver mines, yielding between thirty-five and forty millions of dollars a year. The value of these mines is increased by the fact that there are twenty-five mines of quicksilver, which yield from two hundred and fifty to three hundred thousand pounds weight annually. Gold is also found in considerable quantities, stated variously at from three million of dollars upwards. The mines are generally located either on the top or on the western slope of the Cordilleras, and have been wrought for ages. Gold and silver vases of great value and beauty of workmanship were sent back to Spain by the first conquerors as spoils of war. Iron and copper are also produced in great abundance. One great hindrance to the realizing of this mineral wealth is the difficulty of transporting it to the seaboard, there being neither railroads nor navigable rivers in the country, and the only means of transportation being the backs of mules. The commercial inertness and want of mechanical enterprise of the people, and the small extent to which the combination and division of labor is carried, have also contributed, with the general insecurity of property, to prevent the various natural riches of the country from their full development.

"The Aspinwall Elm," in Brookline, was blown down on the night of the 18th. It is believed that the tree was 207 years old, and if so it must have begun to grow in 1656, when Cromwell was master of all Britain, including her colonies. It was planted when John Endecott was Governor of what was then Massachusetts Bay, and only twenty-six years after the foundation of Boston, and less than thirty-six years after the Landing of the Pilgrims. It out-lasted the old colonial polity, and the royal government, and bowed before the wind through almost ninety years of republican Massachusetts. It was one hundred and twenty years old when the Declaration of Independence was adopted; and though it was a century and a third old when the American government was formed under the Constitution of Washington and Hamilton, it survived that government almost three years. It was a fine tree, and flourishing like a green bay tree, when King Phillip's War broke out, and it was still conversing with the breeze when the secession war came to trouble the land; and then it fell only because the breeze was got up somewhat higher than usual. Its birth was in or near the days when our predecessors hanged some Quakers and banished others, and it had outlived even the time when we had evinced our willingness to hang or banish Abolitionists for the purpose of conciliating slaveholders. This length of days for trees shows how much they have the advantage of man, if long life be really a blessing. "The race of man is as the race of leaves," says Homer, but it is not as the race of leaf-bearers.

THE MISSOURI AND KANSAS DELEGATIONS.—The Missouri and Kansas delegations now here monopolize the hotels. There is scarcely a spare room at Willards, such is the number of strangers in Washington at the present time. The Missouri men do not simply ask for the removal of Gen. Schofield, they ask for a redress of grievances. According to them the State government is in the hands of men who, if not disloyal, are at least sympathizers with the rebellion.

In their opinion Gen. Schofield and Gov. Gamble are managing matters solely with reference to the disloyal portion of the people. They therefore ask for the protection of the government, ask that the President, for whom they (and not their conservative enemies) voted, will save them from a policy which will carry the State into the hands of Copperheads and Democrats. The delegation would like to see Gen. Butler put in Schofield's place, but they probably do not expect to see this done.

The Kansas delegation is small in numbers, but it represents a large majority of the people of that State. The delegates from Kansas say that they are now living under the rule of men who are not the real friends of the Administration, but who are the same individuals who were befriended by James Buchanan's Administration. Mr. Lincoln will endeavor to do what is right in the matter—no one doubts that.—*Wash. Cor. N. Y. Evening Post.*

MR. WEBSTER AND HIS BILLS.—Our readers may be aware that Daniel Webster was not so careful in his pecuniary matters as some men, and this fault was at times taken advantage of. At one time a poor man sawed a pile of wood for him, and having presented his bill, it was promptly paid by Mr. Webster. The laborer took sick during the Winter, and a neighbor advised him to call upon Mr. Webster for the payment of his bill. "But he has paid me," said the man. "No matter," replied his dishonest adviser, "call again with it. He don't know and don't mind what he pays. It is a very common thing for him to pay much smaller bills over twice. The man got well and carried in his account the second time. Mr. Webster looked at it, looked at the man, remembered him, but paid the bill without demurring. The fellow got "short" some three or four months afterwards, and bethought him of the generosity and loose manner of Mr. Webster in his money matters; and a third time he called and presented the bill for sawing the wood. Mr. Webster took the account, which he immediately recognized, and, scanning the woodsawyer a moment, he said: "How do you keep your books, sir?" "I keep no books," said the man, abashed. "I think you do, sir," continued Mr. Webster, with marked emphasis; "and you excel those who are satisfied with the double-entry system. You keep your books upon a *triple* entry plan, I observe." Tearing up the account, Mr. Webster added: "Go, sir, and be honest hereafter. I have no objection to paying these little bills twice, but I cannot pay them three times. You may retire." The man left the room, feeling as though he was suffocating for want of air. He had learned a lesson that lasted through life.

EDUCATION.—Victor Hugo has written a letter to the Social Science Congress in Brussels, in which he speaks as follows of education: "The child—this is the supreme question—the child has in his cradle that peace or war of the future. It is from the cradle we must chase away darkness. Let us cause light to arise in the soul of infancy. Twenty-five years of gratuitous and obligatory instruction would change the face of the world. The child, I repeat it, is the future. The soul there is generous; it gives more than an ear for the grain of wheat. Apply a spark there it will become a blaze of light. To make a citizen, let us begin by making a man. Let us open our schools everywhere. When there is not in an individual the interior light instruction gives, then he is no man. He is no better than the head of the beast as compared with the multitude—one which exists in idleness, and which the master will take by and by to the pasture, and afterwards to the abottoir. In the human creature that which resists slavery is not matter—it is intelligence. Freedom commences when ignorance is dispersed. I had wished to say these things to you, and other things also. I cannot renounce the opportunity of doing so with much regret, but you will not want eloquent voices and generous spirits. These councils of intelligence convoked from time to time are efficacious. The problems of the age are pressing us—they come—they are here. The moment is come when we should be prepared to receive them, and raise the old warning cry of the Roman—*Ad portas!* I pray you, gentlemen, to be my interpreter to the Congress, and to receive the assurance of my warm cordiality.

BISHOP HOPKINS OF VERMONT AND THE CLERGY OF PHILADELPHIA UPON SLAVERY.—The great majority of the Protestant Episcopal clergymen of Philadelphia have signed the following protest against the late pro-slavery letter of Bishop Hopkins, of Vermont:

"The subscribers deeply regret that the fact of the extensive circulation through this Diocese of a letter by 'John Henry Hopkins, Bishop of the Diocese of Vermont,' in defence of Southern slavery, compels them to make this public protest. It is not their province to mix in any political canvass. But as ministers of Christ, in the Protestant Episcopal Church, it becomes them to deny any complicity or sympathy with such a defence.

"This attempt not only to apologize for slavery in the abstract, but to advocate it as it exists in the Cotton States, and in States which sell men and women in the open market as their staple produce, is, in their judgment, unworthy of any servant of Jesus Christ. As an effort to sustain, on Bible principles, the States in rebellion against the government, in the wicked attempt to establish by force of arms a tyranny, under the name of a republic, whose 'corner-stone' shall be the perpetual bondage of the African, it challenges their indignant reprobation."

All the Episcopal clergy of Philadelphia, with Bishop Potter at their head, with the exception of Assistant Bishop Stevens and Rev. Drs. Dorr and Ducachet, signed this important paper. We understand that Dr. Dorr had certain conservative scruples upon the subject, such as an unwillingness to blend together questions of religion and public policy. Bishop Stevens, we are assured, had the paper offered him for his signature, and he flatly refused to affix it. The Bishop seems to have lost his loyalty and patriotism about as suddenly as he found it, at the time the election for Assistant Bishop was coming off.—*Phila. Dispatch.*

Since Senator Sumner made his elaborate speech on Foreign Relations before that immense audience at the Cooper Institute, the Copperheads have been working with great diligence to get up a reply that should astonish the world, both in the magnitude of the meeting and the completeness of the smashing of the Massachusetts orator. So they hired the same hall, advertised and puffed, and trotted out their star orator and great Representative man, R. S. Tharin of Alabama. Last night, gloriously bright and calm, was to witness the great event—and it did. The Cooper Institute was crowded with 47 men and boys, and one female, and R. S. Tharin was therein also, and four reporters. The speech was printed in slips, and ready for the newspapers, and the friends of Sumner were quaking and listening for the crash—when Tharin rose, cast a mournful glance over the vast auditorium, unrolled a manuscript, began to recite his piece, said "Sumner," stopped, rolled up the paper, requested the one female and 47 men, etc., to call on the doorkeeper for their money, go home quietly, and let Sumner live just a little more. The audience, the 47 men and one female, dispersed itself; but at the door came trouble; there were complimentary tickets out, and the Treasurer unwittingly paid money for some of them; consequently his pile soon vanished, even before some purchased tickets were redeemed; hence a row, and police to quell it; the audience, 47 and one female strong, insisting on its money back, and the Treasurer protesting that he had already paid out all he had received—just three dollars. How it ended we do not know; but this is the way the Demosthenes of Democracy demolished Sumner, and this is the way the people crowded the Cooper Institute to hear the demolishing.—*Tribune.*

INHUMAN TREATMENT OF PRISONERS.—Among the prisoners who were taken by the rebels during the Summer campaign in Louisiana, was a son of S. B. S. Bissell, one of the Secretaries of the American Seamen's Friend Society. He was Acting Ensign on board the U. S. gunboat Arizona, and was captured with a party of eleven sailors, who went under his command on shore duty, on the 15th of June, near Point Coupee, on the Mississippi. He was subsequently paroled, and after lying in a hospital at New Orleans for a long time, in consequence of the treatment he received while a prisoner, he has at length reached his father's home at Norwalk, Conn. The Norwalk *Gazette* has the following account of the inhuman treatment to which he was subjected by the enemy:

"He was robbed of his coat, watch and money; and the sailors were treated in the same manner. From the morning of the 16th to the morning of the 21st he had marched from Point Coupee to Alexandria, La., a distance of 186 miles, being an average of 37 miles each day; and this, be it remembered, under the Summer solstice in Louisiana. The only food served out to the party by the rebels was a daily ration of coarse corn meal, which they were left to cook in such way as they could. When they asked for drink, although the canteens of their captors were filled with water or milk, they were left to quench their preying thirst from the puddles or ditches along the road. Their bed was on the ground, without tents or blankets. At Alexandria the party were thrown into prison until they were paroled, when they were marched down to Brashear city. The whole distance marched by them is said to be about 600 miles. Before it was completed, exhausted by toil, exposure and famine, the party were only fit to be cast into a rebel hospital. Some of the hardy sailors sank down and died, while our Norwalk boy was attacked by chills and fever and dysentery."

THE BOOK TRADE-SALE—ITS FEATURES.—The trade-sale of books, now in the second week of its progress in this city, demonstrates some important facts. Buyers are present, not only from all the Eastern and seaboard cities, and from Canada and the West, but from Missouri and Kentucky, and one gentleman comes from Nashville, Tennessee. These men, therefore, represent the interests of the book-trade of all the loyal States, and the fact that they buy freely is not the only evidence which exists of the better prospects of a branch of our business which has been quite as much affected by the war as any other single department.

While the catalogue this year is much larger than has heretofore been offered since the beginning of the war, the class of books is also much better; it is even deemed superior to any list offered for many years past in the standard character of the volumes, but particularly in the style of printing and binding, and the amount of labor bestowed on their production. This circumstance may be accounted for partly, but not wholly, by the withdrawal of the more expensive books from active sale at the commencement of the late depression of business and their return to the market at the present time.

The catalogue contains, it is estimated, more than one hundred thousand bound volumes, of which two-thirds have been sold. The figures of the list, however, by no means represent the books on sale or disposed of. The duplicates taken this year are large, and in one case nearly twelve hundred were sold when the number of books offered was only twenty. At a low estimate, the works catalogued have been quadrupled in the sales so far, and there is no reason to anticipate that the proportion will not be continued through the entire catalogue, to which more than one hundred and fifty publishers of various classes of works have contributed.

The prices at which the books are sold are twenty to twenty-five per cent. higher than those of last year, though there are exceptions, particularly in works which may be described as "trashy," either in the quality of the matter or the style of the volumes.

Special Notices.

A stated meeting of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society will be held at 727 Filbert st., on Fifth day, the 8th inst, at 3½ o'clock, p.m.

G. M. S. P. JONES, Secretary.

The usual business meeting of the Women's Loyal National League will continue to be held weekly, on Fridays, at 3 p.m., at their office, 20 Cooper Institute.

The weekly prayer-meeting of the members of the League will be held every Wednesday, at the same time and place.

Office hours from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m.

Advertisements.

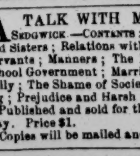
AYER'S COMPOUND EXTRACT SARSAPARILLA.—No one remedy is more needed in this country than a reliable *Alterative*, but the sick have been so outrageously cheated by the worthless preparations of Sarsaparilla abroad that they are disgusted even with the name. Yet the drug cannot be blamed for the impositions from which they have suffered. Most of the so called Sarsaparillas in the market contain little of the virtues of Sarsaparilla or anything else. They are mere slops—inert and worthless, while a concentrated extract of the active variety of Sarsaparilla, compounded with Dock, Stillingia, Iodine, etc., is, as it ever will be, a powerful alterative and an effectual remedy. Such is Ayer's Extract of Sarsaparilla, as its truly wonderful cures of the great variety of complaints which require an alterative medicine have abundantly shown. Do not, therefore, discard this invaluable medicine, because you have been imposed upon by something pretending to be Sarsaparilla, while it was not. When you have used AYER'S, then, and not till then, will you know the virtues of Sarsaparilla. For minute particulars of the diseases it cures, we refer you to Ayer's American Almanac, which the agent below named will furnish gratis to all who call for it.

AYER'S CATHARTIC PILLS, for the cure of Costiveness, Jaundice, Dyspepsia, Indigestion, Dysentery, Foul Stomach, Headache, Piles, Rheumatism, Heartburn arising from Disordered Stomach, Pain, or Morbid Inaction of the Bowels, Flatulency, Loss of Appetite, Liver Complaint, Dropsy, Worms, Gout, Neuralgia, and for a Dinner Pill.

They are sugar coated, so that the most sensitive can take them pleasantly, and they are the best Aperient in the world for all the purposes of a family physic. PRICE 25 CENTS PER BOX; FIVE BOXES FOR $1.

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Send for descriptive pamphlets

A TALK WITH MY PUPILS.—By Mrs. CHARLES SEDGWICK.—CONTENTS: Life's Preparatory Period; Daughters and Sisters; Relations with the Poor and Friendless; Relations with Servants; Manners; The Love of Nature; Travelling; Teaching. School Government; Marriage; Maternity; Parental Weakness and Folly; The Shame of Society, et al., *versus* Truth; Days of Mourning; Prejudice and Harsh Judgments; Moral Courage; Patriotism.

Published and sold for the author by JOHN HOPPER, 110 Broadway. Price $1.

Copies will be mailed and postage paid upon receipt of $1.

A SPLENDID PRESENT.—Every Lady should have one of Mme. DEMOREST'S beautiful and efficient $5 Running Stitch Sewing Machines. Its marvelous simplicity and practical utility is confirmed by the award of the First Premium of the New York State Fair. Sent anywhere, and Express charges prepaid, and its safety guaranteed when the $5 00 is sent in the order. For particulars see Mme Demorest's "Mirror of Fashions," or send for a Circular. Mme. DEMOREST'S Emporium of Fashion, 473 Broadway

THE LIFE OF CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN.—The Life and Letters of Captain John Brown, who was executed at Charlestown, Virginia, Dec. 2, 1859, for an Armed Attack upon American Slavery; with Notices of some of his Confederates. [And a fine photograph likeness.] Edited by RICHARD D. WEBB. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1861.

A small fresh supply of this interesting volume, wherein the character and deeds of John Brown are set forth with great clearness and justice, has been received, and is now for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, Boston; and at this office, 48 Beekman street, New York. *Price*, One Dollar. It will be sent by mail, postage prepaid, to any person ordering it and sending one dollar to SAMUEL MAY, Jr., No. 221 Washington street, Boston.

Miscellaneous Department.

BARBARA FRIETCHIE.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

Up from the meadows rich with corn,
Clear in the cool September morn,

The clustered spires of Frederick stand
Green-walled by the hills of Maryland.

Round about them orchard's sweep,
Apple and peach-tree fruited deep,

Fair as a garden of the Lord
To the eyes of the famished rebel horde,

On that pleasant morn of the early Fall
When Lee marched over the mountain-wall—

Over the mountains winding down,
Horse and foot, into Frederick town.

Forty-flags with their silver stars,
Forty flags with their crimson bars,

Flapped in the morning wind: the sun
Of noon looked down, and saw not one.

Up rose old Barbara Frietchie then,
Bowed with her fourscore years and ten;

Bravest of all in Frederick town,
She took up the flag the men hauled down;

In her attic-window the staff she set,
To show that one heart was loyal yet.

Up the street came the rebel tread,
Stonewall Jackson riding ahead.

Under his slouched hat left and right
He glanced: the old flag met his sight.

"Halt!"—the dust-brown ranks stood fast.
"Fire!"—out blazed the rifle-blast,

It shivered the window, pane and sash;
It rent the banner with seam and gash.

Quick, as it fell from the broken staff,
Dame Barbara snatched the silken scarf;

She leaned far out on the window-sill,
And shook it forth with a royal will.

"Shoot, if you must, this gray old head,
But spare your country's flag," she said.

A shade of sadness, a blush of shame,
Over the face of the leader came;

The nobler nature within him stirred
To life at that woman's deed and word:

"Who touches a hair of yon gray head
Dies like a dog! March on!" he said.

All day long through Frederick street
Sounded the tread of marching feet:

All day long that free flag tossed
Over the heads of the rebel host.

Ever its torn folds rose and fell
On the loyal winds that loved it well;

And through the hill-gaps sunset light
Shone over it with a warm good-night.

Barbara Frietchie's work is o'er,
And the rebel rides on his raids no more.

Honor to her! and let a tear
Fall, for her sake, on Stonewall's bier.

Over Barbara Frietchie's grave
Flag of Freedom and Union wave!

Peace and order and beauty draw
Round thy symbol of light and law;

And ever the stars above look down
On thy stars below at Frederick town!

MR. CRAFT'S VISIT TO THE KING OF DAHOMEY.

In the Geographical and Ethnological Section of the British Association, at Newcastle, Mr. Craft gave an account of his visit to the King of Dahomey. He said he sailed from Liverpool to Lagos about nine months ago, and went to Dahomey through the lagoons in canoes. The journey from Lagos to Dahomey was rather tedious. Wydah was the port of the King of Dahomey, and here there was a native governor who regulated all the import duties. Of export duties there was none. Before coming to Wydah he stopped at a small town on the lagoons in the occupation of the English. The consul there—Mr. Tickle—told him that two messengers from the King of Dahomey had just arrived to claim some persons who had escaped from his territory. The consul, however, did not return them, but entertained the messengers kindly, and introduced Mr. Craft to them. They told Mr. Craft that it was the custom of their country for the King to take every European traveller who wished to see the King under his protection. He was very glad to hear this, and accordingly started the next day for Wydah. The messengers having informed the governor of his approach, that worthy dispatched a number of hammockmen to carry him to the town, all his luggage going by way of the lagoon. When he reached Wydah the governor sent to congratulate him, and appointed the following day for an interview. On the next day all the chiefs and great men of the place assembled at the governor's to meet him and to bid him welcome in the name of the King. Messengers were then sent to inform the King of his arrival. The King, however, had heard of him through a Wesleyan negro missionary at Wydah. Commodore Eardley Wilmot had visited the King a few weeks before he arrived there, and had published an account of his visit, which, by the way, was a very different report from that of M. Jules Gerard. When the King heard that Mr. Craft was coming he said he should be very glad to see him. After remaining five days at Wydah the messengers returned with the King's staff. It is customary in Dahomey when the King or any persons of note wish to send a message to any one for them to send their stick or staff, which also answered the same purpose as sending a card—for cards they had none. During his stay at Wydah, he (Mr. Craft) had sometimes had as many as twenty sticks at his lodgings. The King requested him to come on as soon as possible to a town about eight miles from Dahomey. The King was stopping there reviewing his soldiers and Amazons on his return from a slave hunt. Accordingly, the luggage was placed on the heads of carriers, and he and his friend the Wesleyan missionary proceeded in their hammocks to the appointed rendezvous. The road is very fair from Wydah to Dahomey, but there were no public conveyances, and but few houses in the country. He would have preferred walking, but he was told that if he did not ride in the hammock the King would be offended. When they arrived at a village about eight miles from the town they were met by the King's messengers, who informed them that it was the King's wish that they should remain there till the following day, when he would send a detachment of soldiers to escort them to him. The French Consul at Wydah and a slave-dealer named Cravallo were also at the village, waiting for the King's commands, and to them also the King sent the same message. On the afternoon of the next day an escort of fifty soldiers came to conduct him and his companions to the King, and another escort of fifty soldiers for the French Consul. On their way the soldiers hooted and fired their muskets, making a great commotion. The day after they reached the town where the King was staying another messenger came, saying that his Majesty was ready to receive his visitors. Here he might observe that, in thus giving a truthful account of what he saw and heard, he must not be understood as apologizing in any way for the barbarous customs of the place. He wished simply to state the truth (hear, hear). The King also sent a rosewood liquor case, furnished with cut-glass bottles, containing different kinds of spirits. This was for the purpose of enabling the great men to drink to the health of Mr. Craft in the name of the King. He then got into a hammock, and proceeded to the palace. On his way he saw in the market-place twelve platforms, about thirty feet high, 150 feet apart, and perhaps ten or twelve feet square. On each side of the platform was a man in an upright position, and quite dead. These persons had all been executed the night before. They were clad in accordance with the fashions of the country, and in their hands or otherwise attached to their persons were calabashes, filled with native produce, and a cord, to which were fastened two or three sheep. The meaning of all this was that one Dahomey tribe held an anniversary in honor of their victory over a neighboring tribe. When he came to the other side of the palace he found thousands of natives assembled. As they passed through the crowd the natives saluted them, and when they came into the palace yard they found thousands of the principal people of the country. The chiefs stood on the right hand of the King, whilst on his left there were 2,000 or 3,000 Amazons attired in their gayest costume. The King himself sat under a large tent, and was surrounded by his wives and a few officers of the Amazon regiment. When they approached the King they bowed to him, and he returned the salutations. He was seated on a raised platform about ten feet square, covered with handsome cloth. He immediately rose and shook Mr. Craft and his companions heartily by the hand, saying that he was glad to see him, and thanking him for taking the trouble to pay him a visit. He also inquired very kindly after his health, and after the health of her Majesty the Queen, and of the members of the British government, to all which Mr. Craft replied that he believed they were very well. He then inquired whether the Queen had sent him to Dahomey, to which Mr. Craft answered no, but that he came at the request of a number of English friends of the King's, who desire to promote civilization in Africa, and to encourage a legitimate trade between the people of England and Dahomey. He also told him that though they did not come directly from the British government, he knew they had the good wishes of the government, who would be very glad if something could be done in the way he had proposed. The King seemed at once to understand the matter, and said it was all right; and he proposed successively the healths of the gentlemen who had sent Mr. Craft, of Mr. Craft himself, and of her Majesty the Queen. It was customary at the palace to taste a little of everything that was offered in the way of drink, but visitors were not expected to take more than they liked, and when a visitor had drunk out of a vessel, he could hand it to one of a number of attendants who were always near, and who were glad to finish off the contents (laughter). Whilst all this toasting was going on, thirty-one guns were fired in honor of the visit; and, when Mr. Craft returned to Wydah, he had thirty-one guns fired by way of returning the compliment. After this entertainment, the parties were conducted to the other side of the palace, where the Amazons were dancing. There were 200 or 300 young women thus engaged, and they danced very prettily, making very graceful figures. Although the dancing was kept up all day, and the young women must have been very tired at night, somehow they seemed quite as fresh as they were when they began in the morning. There was also a grand review of the Amazonian regiment, who marched about in various directions and went through all their evolutions. The French Consul and his companion received a reception similar to that which was accorded to himself, although they arrived at the palace a few days later than he did. The whole of the King's property was then brought forward and exhibited to the visitors, thousands of men and women being employed in carrying the articles backwards and forwards. There were among these gold and silver ornaments and specimens of almost every kind of European manufacture. By this time Captain Burton arrived at Dahomey, and a grand review of the troops took place in honor of them all. He (Mr. Craft) would now proceed to make a short statement with reference to the sacrifices which had justly occasioned so much horror in this country. It was quite true that human sacrifices took place, though not to the enormous extent that had been reported. The King of Dahomey was quite black enough, but not quite so black as he had been painted (hear, and laughter). The sacrifices took place from three different causes. They were partly religious, partly demonstrations of power, and partly festive. Women and children were never sacrificed. When a number of women and children were captured, they were either sold or given to the soldiers and others as wives. The children were undisturbed; the strong men were sold as well as the women, if anybody would buy them; but the old men and women and those that could not be turned to pecuniary account were offered up in sacrifice. When he was at Dahomey he saw a large number of children of different tribes. The tribes were distinguished from each other by the tatoo marks, and almost every child he saw had a natural mark. The people of Dahomey thought it rather against their dignity to tatoo themselves much, and had only tatoo marks on the temple; but other tribes were tatooed very much, and in a variety of patterns. The reason why they sold the young men was that they considered it dangerous to have such a strong antagonistic element in their midst. The King gave him four boys for his friends and one for himself. The ages of the boys varied from nine to twelve. They were captured by the King in an expedition against a neighboring tribe, and at the same time he took a native missionary who had been trained under the Church Missionary Society, and sent home to teach his heathen brothers. The King of Dahomey, judging that this man was a native, and believing that he had assumed the European garb for the purpose of deceiving him, thought it necessary to treat him with greater severity than his other captives, and accordingly had him crucified. But many of the chiefs expressed their regret to Mr. Craft that this had occurred, and excused themselves by saying that they did not know the poor man was under the protection of the English. The boys that the King presented to him he had given to his friends, though, of course, they would not regard them as slaves, but would educate them and bring them up as British subjects. In reference to the sacrifices, M. Jules Gerard made a mistake when he said that the King danced in pools of human blood and fragments of human flesh. He (Mr. Craft) was there on the occasion to which M. Gerard referred, and could positively declare that nothing so unsightly took place. He was very sorry to differ from M. Gerard, but a regard for the truth compelled him to make these statements. He regretted that Captain Burton was not present to corroborate his (Mr. Craft's) statements, but he had seen a letter from that gentleman in *The Anglo African* newspaper—a periodical published weekly or monthly at Lagos by a colored gentleman—and in that letter the captain made no allusion whatever to the horrible things which M. Gerard said he saw. With respect to the agricultural capabilities of the country, he regarded it as a cotton-growing region. This was a practical question. It was all very well to visit a country, and to try to understand the habits of the people; but it was better still to turn this knowledge to good account. He believed that the time was come when something ought to be done to promote a legitimate traffic. Nothing could be said in defence of human sacrifices; but there was no harm in stating that the pecuniary element entered into the question to a very large extent, and that if the natives could be brought to believe that it was their interest to cultivate cotton and sell it to Europeans, they would abandon the slave trade. A great deal had been said by Commodore Maury about Africa not being a cotton-growing country. Now Commodore Maury was a very great authority on winds and tides, and so long as he kept to his own element he (Mr. Craft) would not interfere with him; but when he landed at Natal, and began to talk about cotton, he was very liable to find his statements criticized. A lady who was in the room had shown Mr. Craft some cotton which had been grown at Natal, and very good cotton it was; the lady was Mrs. Richardson. Commodore Maury seemed to be of opinion that cotton would not grow well unless it was nipped by frost every year. Now Natal was in about the same latitude as Egypt, and as Egypt could grow very good cotton, without frost, why, he asked, might not Natal, if care were taken to cultivate it? With regard to West Africa and Dahomey he could testify that cotton was grown there in great abundance. Abeokuta adjoined Dahomey, and a very considerable cotton trade had sprung up there during the last few years. At the present time there was a blockade there, owing to some difference between the British government and the Abeokutans, and consequently the cotton was not exported; but he knew for a fact that merchants were buying it up in considerable quantities, and storing it up with a view of sending it out of the country as soon as the blockade was over. He believed that the slave trade was carried on by the people of Dahomey for the purpose of gain. Slave-dealers went to the chiefs of different tribes and induced them to go to war with one another, and remained behind the scenes for the purpose of buying up the slaves that were captured in the war. In this way, heathen captives were found to supply the market created by these Christian dealers in human flesh. Now he thought that if the King of Dahomey and his chiefs could be interested in the cultivation of cotton, and could be brought to feel that it was more profitable than the traffic in slaves, they would give the latter up altogether. Accordingly, he had told the King that the demand for slaves would not exist forever; that slavery was becoming very unpopular; that the Americans were at war, and that it might happen that before the war was closed slavery would be abolished, in which case there would be a very limited demand for slaves (hear, hear). He told the King he believed it would pay him to attend to the cultivation of cotton, and not only to its cultivation but to its manufacture. The King seemed interested in his statements, and replied, that if he could point him to a good market he would be very glad to grow cotton on a large scale. The King also offered him a large place for carrying on his business—a large square at Wydah, surrounded by a mud wall about twenty feet high, and containing several store-houses. He also offered to facilitate his movements in any other way, and gave him, moreover, about 300 samples of cloth of European manufacture, and said that the people of Dahomey would readily purchase materials of that kind if they were imported from Europe (cheers). Mr. Craft concluded by saying he did not think that the King of Dahomey or his people would grow cotton from any high Christian motive, at least in the first instance, but that he was convinced that if they saw that they could do it profitably they would cultivate it upon a very large scale (applause).

At the close of Mr. Craft's paper Sir R. Murchison said that whether the committee did right or wrong in calling Mr. Craft an African gentleman he had made a communication to them in such apposite terms, and in such very good racy English, that he was quite sure there was no member of the British Association who could have communicated a paper with greater effect or in better language (applause). He congratulated the Association on the reading of this paper, which confirmed in every particular the observations of Commodore Wilmot, and they might pass by some of those inaccuracies in which M. Gerard had indulged, probably to render his journey a little too pictorial (laughter and applause). With regard to these human sacrifices, they must consider that the most enlightened of the kings of Africa—those equatorial kings of whom they heard the other day from Capt. Grant, and of whom they would have shortly a graphic detailed account from Capt. Speke—those kings offered human sacrifices daily; therefore, the King of Dahomey was only illustrious among those kings of Africa in offering up a few more sacrifices. Might they hope that these horrible sacrifices would soon terminate, and terminate in the way which his friend, Mr Craft, had alluded to in very proper language, by the introduction, in the first instance, of barter, and leading them to carry on honest trade; and then, as his friend Dr. Livingstone had always told him, when they got them to see the advantage of becoming honest men, and carrying on trade, the giving up of those customs, and the introduction of Christianity would certainly follow (hear, hear).

WHO, AND WHENCE?

Not from Jerusalem alone,
To heaven the path ascends;
As near, as sure, as straight the way
That leads to the celestial day,
From furthest realms extends;
Frigid or torrid zone.

What matters how or when we start?
One is the crown to all:
One is the hard but glorious race,
Whatever be our starting-place;
Rings round the earth the call
That says, Arise, depart!

From the balm-breathing, sun-loved isles
Of the bright Southern sea,
From the dead North's cloud shadowed pole,
We gather to one gladsome goal—
One common home in thee,
City of sun and smiles!

The cold rough billow hinders none;
Nor helps the calm, fair main;
The brown rock of Norwegian gloom,
The verdure of Tahitian bloom
The sands of Misraim's plain,
Or peaks of Lebanon.

As from the green lands of the vine,
So from the snow wastes pale,
We find the ever-open road
To the dear city of our God;
From Russian steppe, or Burman vale,
Or terraced Palestine.

Not from swift Jordan's sacred stream,
Alone we mount above;
Indus or Danube, Thames or Rhone,
Rivers unsainted and unknown,
From each the home of love
Beckons with heavenly gleam.

Not from gray Olivet alone,
We see the gates of life;
From Morven's heath or Jungfrau's snow,
We welcome the descending glow
Of pearl and chrysolite,
And the unsetting sun.

Not from Jerusalem alone
The church ascends to God;
Strangers of every tongue and clime,
Pilgrims of every land and time,
Throng the well-trodden road
That leads up to the throne.

THE GYPSIES.

[The following is an abstract of a paper read before the British Association for the Advancement of Science, at its recent meeting, by Mr. Crawford:]

The origin, as our old English has it, of the "outlandish persons calling themselves Egyptians or Gypsies," and constituting "a strange kind of commonwealth among themselves of wandering impostors and jugglers," is, at least, a subject of great curiosity, not to say of etymological import. Although their first appearance in Europe be coeval with the century which witnessed the discovery of the New World and the new passage to the Indies, no one thought of ascribing to them a Hindu origin, and this hypothesis, the truth of which I now propose to examine, is but of very recent date. Their Hindu origin was not for a long time even suspected; it has of late years, however, received general credence, and, I think, justly. The arguments for it consist in the physical form of the people, in their language, and in the history of their migration. The evidence yielded by physical form will certainly not prove the gypsies to be of Hindu origin. The Hindus are all more or less black; and assuredly no nation or tribe of Hindus now exist, or is even known to have ever existed, as fair as the Gypsies of Europe. It is on language chiefly that we must rely for evidence of the Hindu origin of the Gypsies, and even this is neither very full nor satisfactory. The dialects spoken by the different tribes of this people, although agreeing in several words, differ very materially from each other. Besides the genuine Indian words to be found in the language of the Gypsies, they all contain a large intermixture of foreign tongues; consisting of words of the languages of the people they dwell or have dwelt amongst—of Persian, of Arabic, of Turkish, of Greek, of Hungarian, and of various Sclavonian tongues; these being, in some cases—as, for example, in the Persian—more numerous than the Hindu words. This is what was to be looked for from four hundred years' residence in Europe, and their sojourn among Oriental nations in their necessarily slow journey westward. The Indian words which exist in the language of the Gypsies are by no means so numerous as the Latin ones which are found in the Welsh and Armorican, or in the Irish and Gaelic, and there will be found wanting in the Gypsy language classes of words which are indispensable towards proving it of Indian parentage. Of the migration of the Gypsies from India there is assuredly no record in Indian history, neither have we of their arrival in any Asiatic country before they reached Europe. In both France and Italy their first appearance was in an inland city, in both of which they began at once to tell fortunes; a fact which supposes, of course, some acquaintance with the language of the people whose fortunes they pretended to predict. From these two facts, it may be inferred that the Gypsies were in France and Italy for some time before their appearance in Paris and Bologna. Most probably they came to Italy from Wallachia, through Servia, Bosnia and Dalmatia, crossing the Adriatic; but what internal commotion led to their adventure is unknown. From Italy, where they were seen five years before they reached France, they probably found their way into the latter country. If the Gypsies were originally an Indian people (and there is no other evidence of their having been so than a few words of an Indian language), they were most probably captives, carried off by some western invader with the hope of peopling his own desert lands. I must come to the conclusion that the Gypsies, when above four centuries ago they first appeared in Western Europe, were already composed of a mixture of many different races, and that the present Gypsies are still more mongrel. In the Asiatic portion of their lineage there is probably a small infusion of Hindu blood; but this, I think, is the utmost that can be predicated of their Indian pedigree. Strictly speaking, they are not more Hindus in lineage than they are Persians, Turks, Wallachians, or Europeans; for they are a mixture of all of these, and in that in proportions impossible to be ascertained.

TRAGIC FATE OF TWO POLISH PRIESTS.

Vienna, Aug. 30.

The Vienna *Sonntags-Zeitung* of this evening has received, from its Warsaw correspondent, the following piece of intelligence:

All the attempts of the Russian government to discover the leaders of the Polish revolt having hitherto been in vain, the Russian agents abroad were directed to leave no means untried to discover the names of those persons to whom diplomatic reports from abroad are addressed in Poland. Some time since a Russian spy succeeded in getting possession of a document which Prince Czartoryski had forwarded from London to Warsaw, and in learning the name of the addressed who was a Catholic priest in a village near Warsaw. This priest, Dodicki by name, was arrested and brought for examination into the castle at Warsaw. A search made through his house produced nothing compromising, and the priest strenuously denied having taken any direct or indirect part in the insurrection. The Russian "Committee of Public Safety" did not know how to dispose of their captive, for his personality did not seem adapted for a diplomatic agent, and yet the details of the spy were so exact and precise that the man must surely be more than he seemed to be. Dodicki was able, however, to clear himself from all suspicion, and was on the point of obtaining his release when the agent reported that great consternation reigned among the London committee on account of the seizure of that priest, as he was the confident of the secrets of the National government and possessed important documents.

It was now endeavored, as threats availed naught, to extract a confession by means of enticing promises. A prebendal stall, with a rich benefice, was held out as a reward. This modified the stern resolution of the hitherto inflexible man. He swore most solemnly on the crucifix to make revelations, yet he stipulated that a confessor should be sent to him previously who should grant him absolution and release him from the oath he had sworn to the National government. A priest was soon found. Dodicki remained alone with the holy father in his cell, and the committee anxiously awaited the moment when the confessor would leave the captive. As nevertheless the interview lasted too long an entry was made into the cell, and a horrifying spectacle presented itself to view. Dodicki lay a corpse upon the ground, and the priest who was to have granted absolution lay near him in the agonies of death. All restoratives were in vain, as the confessor had taken a large dose of prussic acid. This priest, whose name was Czerwinski, always passed for a faithful dependent of the Russians, and had at an earlier period given proofs of his attachment to the Czar. The corpses were interred in the castle itself. Dodicki is said to have played an important part; he looked very simple, and none would have credited him with those talents which fitted him to act as a Chief Commissioner of the National government.

SOUTHERN GENTLEMEN.

From Harper's Weekly:

I dined yesterday at ——'s, and Tresslewell was one of the company. Now if Providence makes a man ignoble, and grants him not only nothing of the spirit, but forbids him also the appearance of a gentleman, it does seem an excess of unkindness not to make him in the least aware of it. That Tresslewell is an insignificant, vulgar-looking man is his misfortune. That he dresses like a bar-keeper or a flash stage-driver is probably his misfortune also. That he is certainly what Miss I—t—b calls "a won'erful or'nary-looking man" is the one point about him which is known to everybody. No; there is another well-known fact. He is rich. He is not clever; he is not well-bred; he is not well-educated; he is vulgar; but he is also rich. Now certainly it is pleasanter to be rich than poor. What other consideration could have persuaded Mrs. Tresslewell to marry him? She, too, was at table. Her head was something "won'erful"—upon the outside at least.

She began to talk to me about the "gentlemen" from the South whom she so regretted to miss from society. I told her that I had seen a great many people from that part of the country, but that I had not yet seen the gentlemen. I have met plenty of persons who dressed well, and spoke in a low voice, and knew French, and complimented women very prettily, and talked horses, and dogs and boats with other men, but I had not seen the gentlemen.

"Why, how funny!" said she, "we used to meet so many every Summer at Newport."

"I knew them," answered I.

"And yet you say you never met any gentlemen from the South."

"I do."

"What do you mean?"

"I mean that all those men knew that women were inhumanly whipped in order that they might dance and flirt in Newport and elsewhere; and they did not protest, but insisted that it was necessary and right. Now, Mrs. Tresslewell, I do not think that women-whippers, either personally or by proxy, can possibly be gentlemen."

"Dear me," said Mrs. Tresslewell, "what an awful Abolitionist you are!"

"I suppose I am, dear Madam, and I suppose it's some dreadful thing; but, seriously, I'd rather be an Abolitionist than a gentleman who whips women."

At this point Tresslewell spoke from the other side of the table:

"Are you talking of gentlemen? Well, let me tell you a story. When I was in London I went to the opera, forgetting that you had to wear a dress coat, etc., but dressed as I am when I go to the opera here. They stopped me at the door and sent me back, saying that, to get in there, a man must be dressed like a gentleman. So I went home and changed my clothes. But when I returned the impudent fellow at the door was just going to turn me away again; but I shook my coat-skirts at him as he was in the midst of saying again that to get in a man must be dressed like a gentleman—and he let me pass. But isn't it remarkable that people, whose business it is to be on the look out, don't know a gentleman when they see him?"

"Perhaps they do," ejaculated X——.

There was one moment's pause and then simultaneously everybody turned and began to chatter with his neighbor.

PRAYING FOR RAIN.

We heard a dozen men complain,
When Wednesday, it began to rain;
Just as before, when it was dry,
They mourned a drouth with many a sigh,
And seemed most strangely to forget
That water generally is wet!
If all men's prayers were heard together
The world would have the queerest weather.

"My mill stands still!—O Lord, give rain!"
"My grain is down—O Lord, refrain!"
"My corn is parched!"—"ah, Susan's bonnet—
Don't let a drop of water on it!"
"Oh, not to-day, our washing's out!"
"Roll up, ye clouds, I go for trout."
"The hen's come off—the brood is drowned!"
"Ah, let it pour! my boat's aground!"

So, mid the murmurs of the world,
The clouds like banners are unfurled;
The rains descend, the bow is bent,
The sky smiles clear, God's azure tent;
Sweet springs and robins sing together,
And, rain or shine, 'tis pleasant weather;
The sower's hopeful seed is flung,
And harvest songs are always sung.

A POLISH CHARLOTTE CORDAY.

Vienna, Aug. 30.

The *Sonntags-Zeitung* publishes a letter from Warsaw, dated the 23d, which narrates the following story:

Agnes Ludowska, a maid of eighteen years, was ambitious of playing the part of a Polish Charlotte Corday. With two passes—one from the Russian and another from the National government—she travelled from Warsaw to Wilna with the design of murdering Gen. Mouravieff. Whether any one was in her secret is unknown. She arrived at Wilna on the evening of August 2, took a room in an inn there, and wrote a letter to Mouravieff requesting him to receive her on the following day, when she who had lost her betrothed and father in the unhallowed Polish war would be willing to make disclosures to him which would be calculated to bring the present terrible insurrection to a speedy termination. Mouravieff forthwith telegraphed to Warsaw to learn from the police of that city some particulars concerning the maid and her visit. The report was not unfavorable, yet while confirming the statement that the fair Agnes had really lost her father in battle, the General was counselled to take note of her eccentric conduct.

On the specified day the girl was brought to Mouravieff, but she declined to speak with him except in private. Mouravieff, who is by nature very mistrustful, would only grant her an interview in presence of an officer. When the maid found all her representations and entreaties useless, she declared that she would rather entirely forego the honor of an audience than speak with the General in the presence of witnesses. She was about to take her departure. This suspicious conduct made the officer on duty in Mouravieff's ante-room only the more suspicious, and consequently she was arrested. On being interrogated she at once confessed that it had been her intention to dazzle the General by her charms, and if he fell into the snare to make his life pay the forfeit. She was shortly afterwards privately put to death, and Mouravieff has since been more inaccessible than ever.

HABITS OF THE SLAVES.

Our servants—those who have been selected to wait upon us in the house—consist of a man who is quite a tolerable cook (I believe this is a natural gift with them as with Frenchmen); a dairy-woman who churns for us; a laundry-woman; her daughter, our housemaid, the aforesaid Mary; and two young lads of from fifteen to twenty, who wait upon us in the capacity of footmen. As, however, the latter are perfectly filthy in their persons and clothes—their faces, hands, and naked feet being literally incrusted with dirt—their attendance at our meals is not, as you may suppose, particularly agreeable to me, and I dispense with it as often as possible. Mary, too, is so intolerably offensive in her person that it is impossible to endure her proximity, and the consequence is that, among Mr. ——'s slaves, I wait upon myself more than I have ever done in my life before. About this same personal offensiveness, the Southerners, you know, insist that it is inherent with the race, and it is one of their most cogent reasons for keeping them as slaves. But, as this very disagreeable peculiarity does not prevent Southern women from hanging their infants at the breasts of negresses, nor almost every planter's wife and daughter from having one or more little pet blacks sleeping like puppy-dogs in their very bedchamber, nor almost every planter from admitting one or several of his female slaves to the still closer intimacy of his bed, it seems to me that this objection to doing them right is not very valid. I cannot imagine that they would smell much worse if they were free, or come in much closer contact with the delicate organs of their white fellow-countrymen; indeed, inasmuch as good deeds are spoken of as having a sweet savor before God, it might be supposed that the freeing of the blacks might prove rather an odoriferous process than the contrary. However this may be, I must tell you that this potent reason for enslaving a whole race of people is no more potent with me than most of the others adduced to support the system inasmuch as, from observation and some experience, I am strongly inclined to believe that peculiar ignorance of the laws of health and the habits of decent cleanliness are the real and only causes of this disagreeable characteristic of the race, thorough ablutions and change of linen, when tried, having been perfectly successful in removing all such objections; and if ever you have come into anything like neighborly proximity with a low Irishman or woman, I think you will allow that the same causes produce very nearly the same effects. The stench in an Irish, Scotch, Italian, or French hovel is quite as intolerable as any I ever found in our negro houses, and the filth and vermin which abound about the clothes and persons of the lower peasantry of any of those countries as abominable as the same conditions in the black population of the United States. A total absence of self-respect begets these hateful physical results, and in proportion as moral influences are remote, physical evils will abound. Well-being, freedom, and industry induce self-respect, self-respect induces cleanliness and personal attention, so that slavery is answerable for all the evils that exhibit themselves where it exists—from lying, thieving, and adultery, to dirty houses, ragged clothes, and foul smells.—*Mrs. Kemble's Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation.*

Foreign Gleanings.

A Yorkshire Compliment.—At an inquest held at Bramley, before Mr. Blackburn, the borough coroner, a witness, in the course of his evidence, said—referring to a neighbor whom he had seen standing at his door: When I saw him I passed the compliment to him. Coroner: What compliment? Witness: Bray up't dake. Coroner: Can you spell it? Witness: No. Coroner: Do you know what it means? Witness: No, but I consider it a compliment.—*Leeds Mercury.*

Plant-Growing for the Poor.—The cultivation of plants in the houses of the poor is one of the most beneficial things which has been devised. The love of flowers has undoubtedly been implanted by God in the heart of man. I was particularly struck by the following remark of Lord Bacon: "A garden is the purest of human pleasures. God Almighty first planted a garden." The love of flowers tends to elevate the taste and purify the pursuits, and there is no house, however small, but may have one or more growing on the window-sill. I was in Essex, many years ago, with a gentleman who spent thousands of pounds upon growing splendid flowers. He kept a Dutch gardener, as they were considered most clever at that time, and he one day said to me, "I do all I can to raise splendid carnations, but am always beaten by the cottagers; for each one takes a single plant, which receives the whole attention of the family; the plant, like a child, responds to the care, and grows to a perfection to which I cannot attain."—*Hibberd's Gardener's Magazine.*

Memorial of John Hampden.—Several gentlemen interested in preserving the memory of this great patriot, and among them the Lord Chief Justice Erle, have resolved to erect a monument in the field in Stoke Mandeville in which the levy for ship money was made which led to a contest ending in civil war. The work has been entrusted to Mr. W. W. Thompson, of Aylesbury, and consists of a stone obelisk, eight feet high, surmounted by a Maltese cross, and bearing the following inscription: "For these lands in Stoke Mandeville John Hampden was assessed in twenty shillings ship money, levied by command of the King, without authority of law, the 4th of August, 1635. By resisting the claim of the King in legal strife he upheld the rights of the people under the law, and became entitled to grateful remembrance. His work on earth ended after the conflict of Chalgrove Field, the 18th of June, 1643, and he rests in Great Hampden Church." W. E. 1863.

Monuments to Lord Byron's Daughter Ada and his Grandson Viscount Ockham.—Two handsome monuments have just been finished, erected to the memory of the above noble personages, the former being placed in Newstead Abbey, and the latter in the parish church of Ripley, Surrey. They are both Gothic monuments, of white Carrara marble, are most elaborately carved, and are surmounted with the arms of the family, the whole having been executed by Mr. T. Gaffin, the sculptor, of the Quadrant, Regent street. The following are the inscriptions: "In the Byron vault below lie the remains of Augusta Ada, only daughter of George Gordon Noel, sixth Lord Byron, the wife of William Earl of Lovelace, born 10th December, 1815, died 27th November, 1852. R. I. P." "In memory of Byron Noel, Viscount Ockham and Baron Wentworth, eldest son of William, Earl Lovelace, born 12th May, 1836, died September 1, 1862." It will be remembered that Viscount Ockham before his death had been working as a smith in one of the dockyards.

The Solitude of London.—Gentleman Wilson, in Fielding, finds himself in as much solitude in St. James's as if he had been in a desert. "Here I am alone in this huge heartless place," writes Jeffrey from London, "so alone and home-sick," etc. So Charlotte Brontë eyed "those gray, weary, uniform streets," where all faces were "strange and untouched with sunlight" to her, while she was making a commencement of "Jean Eyre." When Gibbon was pressed to secure a retreat at Lausanne, for studious authorship's sake, dull as the retreat might be, he declared that in such a dwelling he should fear dissipation much more than *ennui*, and that the vortex of bustle at Lausanne would astonish a philosopher accustomed, like himself, for so many years to the tranquillity of London. For "the tranquillity of a single individual," says he, "is assured by the immensity of the metropolis." * * In a more limited and friendly state of society, where proceedings are public and rights reciprocal, the historian felt that he and his history could not be so exclusively alone.—*Bentley's Miscellany.*

The Sister of Sir Sidney Smith.—We read in *The Army and Navy Gazette*: "There is, we are told, now living in abject penury a woman aged eighty years, who is described as the sister and only surviving relative of a man whose name and whose deeds were on every one's lips in the early part of this century. The woman is a lady; she is in beggary, subsisting on casual charity, and so saved from dying in the pauper's ward of the workhouse. There are doubtless many poor ladies living in indigence, but the sister and sole surviving relative of 'Sidney Smith, the hero of Acre'—a British admiral, a Grand Cross of the Bath—has surely some special claims on the consideration of those who are able to spare her the last degradation from which the government and the country are apparently unable to rescue the few remaining hours of life. General and Lady Mary Fox, Captain Kitchen, R.N., Commander Wright, R.N., vouch for the truth of the lady's condition and claims. The charitable and generous may send in subscriptions to Gen. Fox, at Coutts's; all the navy agents will receive any aid from the public for the same purpose; and we shall be happy to take charge of any sums intended for the relief of the lady, address to Mr. Merchant, *Army and Navy Gazette* office, 'Sidney Smith.'"

Caravans of Pilgrims.—A letter from Rome gives the following news: Mgr. Mérode is at this moment busily engaged in organizing excursion-trains, or caravans of pilgrims, which are to arrive here in the beginning of September to witness the procession of the *votto santo*, an image of the Saviour, to which miraculous virtues are attributed. These processions had been suppressed by one of the Popes, but Pius IX. has just revived them. The 8th September has been fixed for this pronunciamiento in favor of the temporal power, under the auspices of Mgr. Mérode, accompanied by six hundred Belgians and as many Bavarians. The managers of these pilgrim caravans have hired the Minerva Hotel, in which 1,200 or 1,500 beds are to be prepared. On this occasion all the relics that Rome can boast of will be exposed for the veneration of the faithful. Among the most remarkable are—at St. John Lateran, the napkin on which Jesus wiped his hands after the last supper, and the veil, stained with blood, with which the Virgin covered Jesus on the cross; at Sta. Maria Maggiore, St. Joseph's cloak, and the Virgin's veil and hair; at the Vatician, some hay from the manger in which the infant Jesus was laid, St. Veronica's veil bearing the impression of the Saviour's face, and some of the blood and water which flowed from his side when pierced by the centurion on the cross.

A Popular Danish Story.—In the village of Ebberup, in Funen, there lived a very wealthy farmer, who had to go one day to Assens with a load of barley; so one of his neighbors, a cottager, asked leave to go along with him for the sake of fetching home some goods in the empty cart. The farmer had no objection, so the cotter followed the cart on foot, and as it was a very hot day, he pulled off his worsted stockings and wooden shoes, and stuffed them under the barley in the back of the cart. It happened to be Sunday, and they had to pass close by a church on the roadside. The man had got a little way behind the cart, so he could hear that the minister was in the pulpit. It struck him that as the farmer was driving very slow, he might as well turn in and hear a bit of the sermon; he could soon make up to the cart again. He did not like to go so far into the church that the minister could see him, so he stood inside the door. The Gospel for that day was about the rich man and the beggar. Just as the traveller entered the church the minister shouted out, "But what became of the rich man?" The Ebberup man thought the minister was speaking to him, so he stepped forward and said, "He drove on to Assens with a load of barley." "No!" thundered the minister, "he went to hell." "Mercy on us!" cried the other, running out of the church, "then I must look after my shoes and stockings!"

Tenacity of Life in a Sheep.—An incident which shows the great length of time a sheep can subsist without food and in confinement has just occurred at Steyning, in Sussex. Mr. Thomas Duke, a butcher, carrying on business in that town, had a flock of sheep which he put out to graze in a field adjoining the Vicarage. About a fortnight ago one of these sheep, a fine fat animal, strayed from the rest, was pursued and took refuge in the mouth of the town drain close by. The truant was followed into the drain by a boy, who crawled after the animal as far as he safely could, but being unable to reach it he was compelled to return. The animal did not again make its appearance, so that Mr. Duke concluded it must have perished, and he did not expect to see it again—alive, at any rate. One evening last week, however, as a Mr. Drewitt, who occupies a field underneath which the Steyning town drain passes, was standing in this field he fancied he perceived a slight motion of the surface of the ground. This induced him to remove some of the bricks from the surface of the drain, and there the missing sheep was discovered, still alive and also lively. The animal had been twelve days and nights in the drain, and it appeared to have suffered so slightly from this long confinement in such a strange prison-house that when the drain was uncovered it actually jumped out and ran off, and it had to be driven into a corner of the field before it could be captured and restored to its joyful owner.

Theodore Korner's Death.—A great festival, which promises to become a national one, is being prepared in Germany for the 26th—the fifty years' jubilee of Theodore Körner's death. The festival is to take place at Wöbbelin, where Körner fell and lies buried. A committee has been formed at Hamburg and Ludwigslust, which has issued invitations to all the Liederkränze, Singverine, Turnverine, and other corporations of Germany, sending honorary tickets of invitation, besides, to men of note in literature and art. Fifty years have gone by since this young gifted poet, who with the ancient Greeks would have been worshipped as the favorite of the gods, died the death of a hero, in a good national cause. Little has this cause been furthered by all the noble blood that was shed so cheerfully, and by half-a-century's progress in civilization! Indeed, all the political rights and liberties which were held out in the King's proclamation of 1813, as a reward to the people if they should succeed to drive away the French usurper, were denied to them as soon as the throne was safe, and have been denied to them again and again, as the latest events in the Prussian Chambers have sufficiently proved. Nevertheless, or rather all the more, the nation cherishes warmly the memory of those who have died in the struggle for liberty, and will, no doubt, seize this opportunity of manifesting its love for the author of "Leier und Schwerdt," who, by his songs and example, urged the people on to break their chains.—*Athenæum.*

The Mother of Thomas a Becket.—His father, Gilbert Beck, of London—some speak of him as sheriff of the city—lived in the time of Henry I., and being a youth of fair person and a bold spirit, succeeded so far in overcoming the prejudice against his Saxon descent as to gain the regard of the Norman lords of England. To one of these he attached himself as esquire, or military retainer, and followed him abroad in the early crusades. His career met with a serious check, however, for he was taken prisoner, and fell in the hands of a Saracen chief, who enslaved and imprisoned him; but Love opened the prison that Hate had closed; and the beautiful daughter of his heathen lord, enamored of the Christian captive, found a means for his escape. He returned to England; and now the most remarkable part of the tale commences. The dark beauty had learned two words, and two words only, of her Christian lover's language—she knew that his name was "Gilbert," and that his abode was "London." By repetition of the latter word she found her way to England and its metropolis; when there, by repetition of the former word she at length found him of whom she had been in search! Her persevering affection was rewarded by an union with Gilbert, after being baptized into the Christian faith by the name of Matilda (probably in compliment to the wife or daughter of the king), and the fruit of this marriage was a son, who, after the fashion of double names, then recently introduced by the Normans was called Thomas Becket.—*The Churchman's Family Magazine.*

Edmund Spenser.—Of the features or manners of Spenser we know even less than of his real personal history. Neither the outer nor inner man is distinctly before us. How did he look? How did he talk? Echo only answers "How?" Several portraits of the poet are in existence, but the degree of their resemblance and authenticity cannot be determined. Mr. Collier mentions a miniature once in the possession of Rodd, the bookseller of Newport street. The features are described as sharp and delicately formed, and the nose long. The account which Aubrey gives from Beeston, who had often seen Spenser, describes him as "a little man with short hair and cuffs." The conjecture is probable that Beeston refers to the later portion of Spenser's life when he was nearly connected with the Puritanical party, in whose eyes the broad lace collar would have been frightful. We sigh for any of those individual traits which make the life of biography. Who does not read with interest of the abstracted look and meditative stoop of Chaucer in his gray gown, red stockings, and black shoes; or the banter of the host of "The Tabard" about his corpulence; of Ben Johnson's eye lower than the other, and his coachman's coat with slits under the armpits; of Waller's forehead full of wrinkles, and his writing like the scratching of a hen; of Milton's pronunciation of R hard; of the eye of Hobbes, when in discourse, shining as if a bright live coal were in it; or of Hooker's face full of pimples, always turned indirectly to the gazer? For any notes of this familiar nature we may not look in the story told of Spenser.—*The Churchman's Family Magazine.*

The Highland Laird.—The men of "the 45" were, as a class, half heathen, with strong sympathies for Romanism or Episcopacy, as the supposed symbol of loyalty. I mentioned, in a former sketch, how the parish minister of that time had prayed with his eyes open and his pistols cocked. But I have been since reminded of a fact which I had forgotten—that one of the lairds who had "followed Prince Charlie," and who sat in the gallery opposite the parson, had threatened to shoot him if he dared to pray for King George, and, on the occasion referred to, had ostentatiously laid a pistol on the book-board. It was then only that the minister produced his brace to keep the laird in countenance! This same half-savage laird was, in later years, made more civilized by the successor of the belligerent parson. Our parish minister, on one occasion, when travelling with the laird, was obliged to sleep at night in the same room with him in a Highland inn. After retiring to bed, the laird said, "Oh, minister, I wish you would tell some tale." "I shall do so willingly," replied the minister; and he told the story of Joseph and his brethren. When it was finished, the laird expressed his great delight at the narrative, and begged to know where the minister had picked it up, as it was evidently not Highland. "I got it," quoth the minister, "in a book you have often heard of, and where you may find many other most delightful and most instructive stories, which, unlike our Highland ones, are all true—in the Bible."—*Good Words.*

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